Inside: Our Mixed-up Crazy New-fangled Primary

California JOURNAL

April 2000
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Election 2000:

Who's on top for November?

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California JOURNAL
April 2000
Volume XXXI, Number 4

Upfront

Talking Points

Two Cents

The Bottom Line

Southern Exposure

Washington Perspective

A pat on the back

Long before the polls closed March 7, our labors had begun. As with all election issues, our team of political writers, editors and graphic designers logged long hours and weekends putting together this edition. The result is in your hands: the most concise and comprehensive coverage anywhere of California's March 2000 primary. From the results of ballot propositions to district-by-district analyses of every legislative race in California, elections are what we do best.

None of this would come together as it does without *CJ* Political Editor Steve Scott. A fount of political wit and wisdom, Scott has been covering California elections since 1985. His insights are indispensable; his wry commentary unbeatable. And this year he was all over the map, single-handedly covering seven state Senate races, 16 congressional contests and 25 Assembly races. He also handled the state's presidential free-for-all, covered a good chunk of the ballot propositions and wrote our introductory overview. On top of that, he guided our overall coverage.

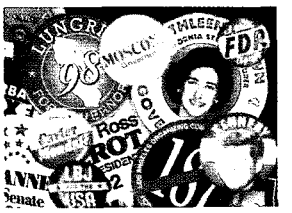
Claudia Buck

Nor were we the only ones to capitalize on Steve's talents. He provided ongoing campaign commentary for public television's KVIE in Sacramento and KQED in San Francisco, could be heard on radio's "California Capitol Report" on KXJZ, appeared in the *Los Angeles Times'* Sunday Opinion section and wrote for the online publication "Intellectualcapital.com." He also provided live Election Night political analysis on Sacramento's Channel 10 (KXTV), and, by invitation, delivered post-election analyses in speeches to several organizations.

In short, Steve Scott coined a new definition of March Madness. We trust you'll enjoy the work of Steve and all of our political team.

History in the making

No longer a political footnote, California found itself a headliner as an early March primary put the Golden State into the pack of true contenders picking the presidential nominees.

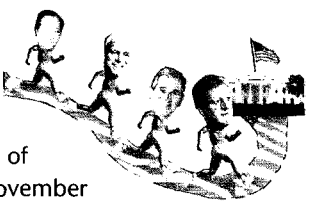


By Steve Scott

Presidential primary

They came, we saw. In their quest for electoral votes, the presidential candidates made California a destination, not a detour.

By Steve Scott



U.S. Senate

In the electoral equivalent of Everest, it's all uphill to November for Congressman Tom Campbell in his bid to topple incumbent Dianne Feinstein.

By A.G. Block

Propositions

Voters were dished a heaping plate of ballot measures, from gay marriage to tribal casinos. We dive in and digest it all for you.

By CJ Editors

U.S. Congress

With six seats hanging in the balance for control of the House leadership, both parties consider California the main battleground for November.

By CJ Editors

State Senate

With term limits creating roadblocks, some incumbents looked up to Congress for a future; others U-turned their way back to the Assembly.

By CJ Editors

Assembly

Some spent a million and lost; others almost nothing and won. As always, the Assembly assembled a unique cast of characters vying for a legislative brass ring.

By CJ Editors

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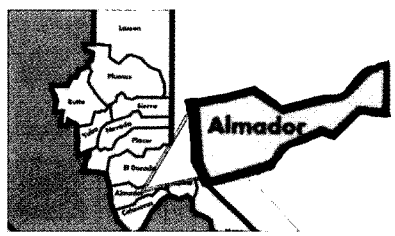
Sign, sign, everywhere a sign. Sign wars are standard issue for election campaigns, but reports from the field suggest this year was worse than usual. Supporters and opponents of the gay marriage initiative, Proposition 22, say literally tens of thousands of their signs were ripped or defaced: Backers alone claim 40,000 abused lawn signs. All that destruction probably didn't affect the outcome of Proposition 22, but anti-sign violence was decisive in a San Joaquin County supervisorial contest. Seems incumbent Ed Simas was caught on videotape, in broad daylight, tearing down a campaign sign for opponent Victor Mow. Needless to say, the shot made the evening news, and Mow made hay. He beat Simas by a 2-to-1 margin.

Tuning in. It's hard to imagine the ballot being the source of artistic inspiration. But that's how it was for Kim Alexander, president of the nonprofit California Voter Foundation. With guitar in hand and ballot book at the ready, Alexander penned "The Proposition Song," an ode to the 20 propositions facing voters during the primary, sung roughly to the tune of "99 Bottles of Beer on the Wall." For most of us, that would be as far as it goes. But the ever-energetic Alexander gathered a bunch of friends and associates together, recorded the song, got a video produced and put the word out. It clicked, drawing notice from CNN, ABC and the "Jim Lehrer Newshour." Sadly, MTV took a pass, but there's always November.

Did you know? We think we've found a presidential angle the national media has missed. This will be the first presidential election in history where both major-party nominees — George W. Bush and Al Gore — have last names that are actual English-language words. Run either Bush or Gore past your spell-checker and they slip through unnoticed. Try doing that with Eisenhower or Roosevelt. Of course, George W.'s father was on two previous tickets, but he ran against a Dukakis and a Clinton, both of which will hang a spell-checker like nobody's business. Wait ... oh, here come the nice men with the white coats. Looks like it's time for a little post-election "rest."

Fitting the district. One of the state's primary surprises was the spanking that lobbyist Skip Daum got in the First Senate District.



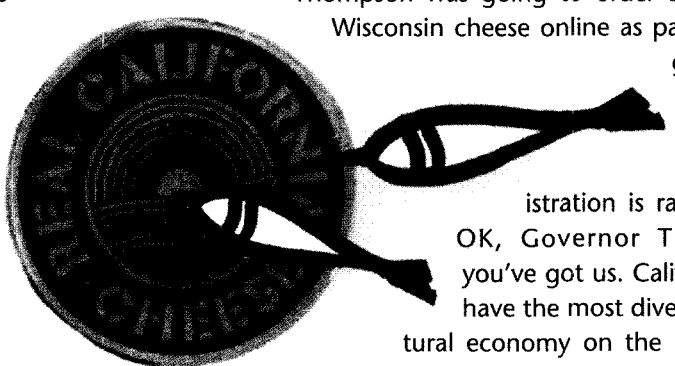
The well-financed Daum came in third, in part because he didn't have a geographic base in the district. Turns out his printer didn't, either. Daum's first walk piece listed "Almador" as one of the counties in the district. We suspect Amador County folks were not amused.

"He serves his party best who serves the country best."

— Rutherford B. Hayes

Cheese wars.

When governors in other states give their State of the State messages, one of the more popular pastimes is bad-mouthing California. Not surprising, since jealousy is probably the only green most of those states see in the wintertime. So it was no shock to hear that Wisconsin Governor Tommy Thompson took on California cheese, terming it "fishbait." The riff was fallout from one of those geeky gubernatorial sports wagers with Governor Gray Davis, this one involving the Stanford-Wisconsin Rose Bowl contest won by Wisconsin. It also may have been related to projections that California cheese will soon be outselling the Cheesehead variety. The policy punch line to this big set-up was that Thompson was going to order Davis some Wisconsin cheese online as part of some grand e-commerce program his administration is ramping up. OK, Governor Thompson, you've got us. California does have the most diverse agricultural economy on the planet, the bulk of the high-technology driving the national expansion and the U.S. lead in production of, among other things, dairy products. But, that's all pretty low-rent. In Wisconsin, you can order cheese on the Internet.



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Remembering Ken Maddy (1934-2000)

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Ken Maddy died on February 19, 2000. Republican, legislator, Fresnan, horseman, Maddy lost a year-long struggle against lung cancer. He was 65. Darkly handsome, ramrod straight, easily amused, forever courteous, he seemed the very essence of civility in public office.

Maddy's career as a public servant is well-documented — a legislator for 28 years, first in the Assembly, then for 21 years in the state Senate. He ran unsuccessfully for the GOP nomination for governor in 1978, his campaign hampered by his candid confession that he had used marijuana as a youth. Senate Republican leader from 1987 to 1995, he was dumped by conservatives because he was not partisan enough, as though the spirit of cooperation that he exemplified was unseemly.

As a legislator, Maddy was most closely associated with the Senate, where he honed his formidable legislative skills. He was as much a part of the upper chamber as the podium, desks and columns. The very title "senator" draped about him like a lush and regal robe, and he was, during his time, the embodiment of what an ideal legislator could be: pragmatic, forthright, principled, a problem-solver. Term limits drove him from the Legislature in 1998, his departure a monument to what is wrong with that peculiar notion about government and public service.

Tributes to Maddy poured forth last month. *Los Angeles Times* columnist George Skelton wrote that "no superlatives can overstate Maddy's effect on the Capitol and his colleagues. He simply was one of the very best ... a legislator's legislator." Governor Gray Davis reminded us that Maddy "worked hard to bring us together as a people and ... stood up to those that tried to divide us." State Senator Jim Costa, a Democrat from Fresno, said that Maddy had class. Yes, Ken Maddy had class. He also had decency and, despite his patrician bearing, a common touch. He seemed never to have been seduced by the trappings of power that often captivate lesser human beings.

Journalist Lou Cannon, a contributing editor to this publication who covered California and national politics for 40 years, characterized Maddy as "a reporter's favorite politician because he never lied to you."

Cannon remembered running into Maddy last summer at one of Maddy's favorite haunts — Del Mar racetrack in Southern California, where they both had bet on the same, badly beaten horse. Maddy commented that their pick "didn't do too well," adding almost as an afterthought, "but then, I'm not doing too well myself." He then explained to Cannon that he had cancer and that his doctors were not optimistic. It was, Cannon recalled, a straightforward comment, issued without a trace of self-pity — just the kind of candor and repose that distinguished Maddy even in times of acute crisis.

"Integrity" is a common and often empty word in the public arena; a slice of cardboard gussied up to look like granite and plastered onto some campaign mailer. Yet, the word takes on magnitude and power when applied to those for whom integrity is not a slogan but a way of life. One such public servant was Kenneth Leon Maddy.

– A.G. Block

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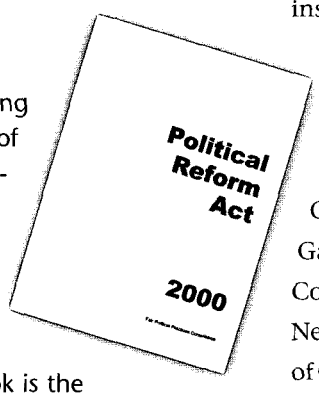
Excerpts:

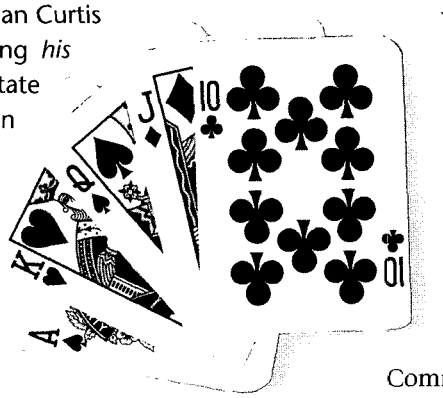
Learn by Example: A Primer

Political Reform Act, 2000
Fair Political Practices Commission
www.fppc.ca.gov



It's hard to flip through the sizzling new, hot-off-the-presses 2000 edition of the Political Reform Act without recalling the scene in "The Jerk" where Steve Martin goes wild over being listed in the new phone book. The listing, he is sure, signals his arrival. Fame, fortune and all that. But a listing in the Political Reform Act book is the kind most people can do without.

The 280-page book, just published by the Fair Political Practices Commission and available to the public for $10, includes a panoply of cases stemming from 25 years of application of the law. Almost everyone who is anyone in modern California politics shows up in these pages, most notably in Appendix II, the Summary of Enforcement Decisions. Consider: State Senator Richard Polanco (D-Los Angeles) makes an appearance for using campaign funds to pay for health club dues, former Assemblyman Curtis Tucker (D-Los Angeles) is included for using *his* campaign funds to pay rent, and former state Senator and now Superior Court Judge Quentin Kopp (I-San Francisco) pops up for accepting an illegal cash contribution of laundered $100 bills. Granted, the infractions occurred years ago and represent mistakes practically made in previous lifetimes. We like to think it's all part of the learning curve for elected officials—nothing more nefarious than that.



Either way, if the best education comes by example, this book is chock full of advice for aspiring politicians trying to stay on the right side of disclosure, reporting and campaign finance laws. It's eye-opening reading.

— Cynthia H. Craft

From the excerpt:

Quiz yourself

Here, just for fun, is a small quiz inspired by an entry on page 155 of the book on the Political Reform Act. What do the following campaign committees have in common: Californians for Fair Business Practices, California Sports Entertainment and Gaming Association, Alliance for Safe Communities, Residents to Protect our Neighborhoods, Concerned Taxpayers of California, Californians Against Gaming Expansion, Public Information Service and Save Our Neighborhoods.

If you said they were all sham committees created and funded by a card club to defeat measures to expand gambling — read competition — in nearby cities, you'd be right! Sneaking around and using these committees without properly identifying them on mass mailings earned the Bell Gardens Bicycle Club a whopping $412,000 fine from the Fair Political Practices Commission in 1998. The real punch line? None other than the United States government holds a controlling interest in the Bicycle Club, having seized its assests years ago.

— Cynthia H. Craft

Quotables.....

"For the first time in years, I'm going to be able to put my family first."
— Robbie Waters, a Sacramento mayoral candidate explaining why he is upbeat at having lost.

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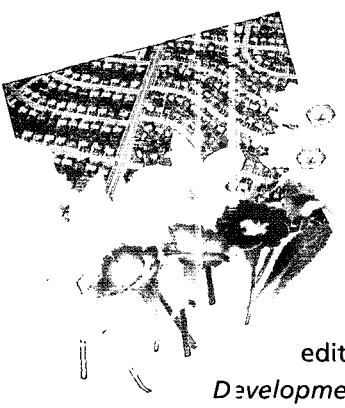
Trendtracker:

Build away

California is on a roll. The New Economy is thundering. Real estate is zooming. Venture capital is streaming. So why not Honor Thy Boom and build out a bit more? Like, why stop now?

Such was the mood of California's spring voters who, in sync with the daffodils, raised sunny faces skyward to pay homage to the Gods of Growth and Optimism while pulling pro-development levers in voting booths up and down the Golden State.



From Ventura to Glendora, from Tracy to Monterey, pro-growth forces won the day in battles big and small, bold and subtle, obtaining A-OKs for projects ranging from low-income senior housing to *really* big retail. This is according to the editors of the *California Planning & Development Report,* who make it their business to track such outcomes.

Voter rejection of pave-over anxiety extended to three "big box" retail projects, where the benefits of deep discounts toppled the scales in favor of growth in the suburban communities of Glendora, Huntington Beach and South San Francisco. In Seal Beach, coastal shopper-dwellers gave the go-ahead to a large retail project that nay-saying opponents had targeted with an initiative.

There are, of course, exceptions to any rule, and CP&DR ed to s tracked three notable ones in the March 7 elections: in Davis, San Luis Obispo and Orange County. In the latter, a proposal to turn the El Toro Marine Corps Air Base into a commercial airport jazzed up "no" voters.

Primary-season contests can be pretty fair forecasters of how "sensible growth" battles will tip in the fall. But don't expect the dynamics in November to mirror this spring's too closely. A huge cadre of GOP pro-*bidness* conservatives marched to the primary polls to defend favorite son Dubya, while Democrat Al Gore's green core, not sensing a threat for their man, hung back. Watch for a more even partisan break, and growth vote, in the fall.

— Cynthia H. Craft

By the numbers

Rolling in it

$13,200,000: Campaign cash Gov. Gray Davis raised his first year in office.

$36,164: The governor's daily rate of fund-raising in 1999.

$33,700: The average annual wage in the United States in 1999.

0%: Change in Davis' fund-raising pace so far in 2000.

$1,000,000: Estimate of funds Davis helped raise to defeat Prop. 25, a campaign finance reform initiative.

$25,000: Per-person contributions at a dinner with Davis just hours before Prop. 25 was defeated at the polls.

$5,000: Per-person contribution limit had Prop. 25 passed.

$175,000: Total raised from the nation's largest pharmaceutical companies at the dinner with Davis the night before Prop. 25 was defeated.

Sources: Los Angeles Times, San Francisco Chronicle, New York Times, U.S. Employment Development Department, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

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A new direction

by A.G. Block

Five years ago this month, I became editor of *California Journal* after serving as managing editor for a dozen years. In April 1995, I wrote my first column as editor.

This month, I write my last.

Not that I'm going very far away. Beginning with the May 2000 issue, I become "editor-in-chief for news and publications" at State Net – the *Journal's* parent company.

Managing Editor Cynthia Craft succeeds me as editor. She also assumes editorial responsibility for *California Journal's* sister publication, the weekly *Capitol Journal.* Associate Editor Claudia Buck becomes managing editor, and together they form a unique and exceptional editorial team, one that combines more than 40 years' experience in public-affairs journalism.

Craft is a "reader's editor," with a strong editorial voice and a penchant for holding public officials responsible for their actions. Throughout her tenure as managing editor, she has been a constant advocate for stories that are both informative and entertaining for the magazine's legion of loyal subscribers. Her skills were honed at daily newspapers such as the *Columbus Citizen-Journal, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Dallas Times Herald* and *Los Angeles Times,* where she contributed to two Pulitzer Prize-winning team efforts, both as a writer and as an editor.

Buck brings another dimension to the team. A "writer's editor," she has an unusual ability to work with staff and contributors to glean the very best from their labors. Buck, who spent nearly a decade as a reporter at *The Sacramento Bee,* including two years in its Capitol bureau, is co-editor of another State Net publication — the "California Political Almanac." Both Craft and Buck are thoughtful and gifted storytellers, and their leadership brings a new spark to the *Journal* as it begins its fourth decade covering California government and politics.

This change reflects the reality of my position with the magazine and with its parent company. For some time, I have worn other hats in addition to the editor's visor – all of which now are being consolidated under a new title. State Net, headquartered in Sacramento, is the nation's largest and most comprehensive source for information about state government and publishes a variety of magazines, daily and weekly news briefings and e-zines, directories, rosters, handbooks and specialized reports about politics in all 50 states. In addition, it maintains a network of news correspondents in all 50 capitals. Although my address doesn't change, my focus necessarily does.

I turn over the reins with mixed emotions. I've been doing *California Journal* since the spring of 1983, when publisher Tom Hoeber and editor Bob Fairbanks hired me as a part-time managing editor. For the past 18 years, the magazine has given me the opportunity to grow as an editor and as a journalist.

In that first column back in 1995, I wrote that my then-newborn son, Will, had been brought into an "unpleasant and uncertain America" — a nation at a crossroads. One path led to limitless opportunities for enterprising individuals; the other toward self-doubt and the continued erosion of confidence in government.

> **For the sake of my child who is without voice, I ask that those in positions of influence and authority work hard [. . .] to restore faith in government and to shun those who would tear apart the fabric of society for the sake of self-promotion.**
>
> — A.G. Block, *CJ, April 1995*

Fortunately, society for the moment seems to have gravitated toward opportunity and optimism, urged in that positive direction by a booming economy and unprecedented prosperity for many – but not for all. An important part of *California Journal's* mission as I saw it was to remind the powerful and influential that a substantial number of our fellow citizens still struggle to survive in this land of plenty and often have no voice in decisions that affect their lives. I also sought to remind readers that elected officials are, by and large, dedicated public servants who occupy a unique status in our society, that of community leaders who also are employees of the community.

Cynthia Craft's notions for guiding the *Journal,* and about the public accountability that comes with the role of "public servant," will become evident starting next month as she takes the reins. In the meantime, I have the pleasure of pulling together the April *California Journal,* showcasing once again this magazine's unmatched ability to make sense out of an election.

A.G. Block is Editor-in-Chief for News and Publications at State Net. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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In the mix

Turnout jumped as California's new early primary put the "super" in Super Tuesday. But the state's blithely self-contradictory voters produced an iconoclastic result that offers a little something for everyone.

by Steve Scott

Well, it almost happened. California came within about two hours of being *the* state — the pinion around which the nomination of a major party presidential candidate would turn for the first time in three decades. Although the insurgent presidential bid of Arizona Republican U.S. Senator John McCain had arguably been on thin ice for nearly two weeks, it wasn't until network news projections called the New York primary for his rival, Texas Governor George W. Bush, that California ceased to be the unofficial anchor of the primary bloc dubbed "Super Tuesday." Close, but no cigar.

But man, what a ride.

The combined effect of the newly relocated March primary and the state's new open-primary law produced

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one of the most engaging California primaries in many a season. According to Secretary of State Bill Jones, some 55 percent of registered voters cast a ballot in the primary this year, a sizable jump over four years ago, when the primary was in late March. The conservative cast of this suddenly energized electorate exerted a distinct influence on the outcomes of other contests, though that influence was not always consistent from race to race.

By most accounts, the straw that stirred the drink for the primary was the presidential contest between McCain and Bush. The former POW's lopsided win in the February 1 New Hampshire primary created a surge of interest in his campaign, prompting thousands of new GOP registrations and re-registrations in the six days between the primary and the state's registration deadline. The subsequent twists and turns in the presidential campaign over the next month were largely played out on other stages, but in the back of everyone's mind was the looming presence of the 800-pound gorilla that was the California primary.

In the end, the "McCain factor" made a difference in turnout, but its effect was a surprise. Conservatives were galvanized by McCain's attacks on religious conservative leaders Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson and turned out in numbers to vote against him. Democrats and independents, increasingly aware that their votes wouldn't help McCain, opted to stay put in the Democratic primary, won handily by Vice President Al Gore over former New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley, or just took a pass.

The conservative cast of the electorate didn't affect the willingness of Republicans to back moderate Representative Tom Campbell (R-Campbell) as their nominee to take on Senator Dianne Feinstein. But it did prove to be a factor in some of the 20 propositions that voters faced on Election Day. It was most decisive in the battle over Proposition 26, the initiative to reduce the vote threshold on local school bonds from two-thirds to a simple majority. Many pre-election polls showed the measure with a slight advantage and it benefited from a $10 million advertising campaign bankrolled by, among others, the California Teachers Association. But the measure came up some 160,000 votes short out of about 6.5 million cast.

Other areas where voter conservatism showed through were the margins of victory for Proposition 22, the ban on gay marriage, and Proposition 21, the Pete Wilson-sponsored juvenile crime initiative. It also showed in the margins of defeat for Propositions 30 and 31, the referendums that would have ratified two laws reinstating bad-faith lawsuits in car-insurance cases. And fiscal conservatism ruled the day in voter rejection of Proposition 15, the $220 million bond measure to upgrade the state's crime labs.

Despite its conservative bent on policy questions, the electorate also showed it's still basically upbeat about the state and its current leadership. Record-smashing park and water bonds scored muscular victories, as did bonds for library construction and veterans homes. Anti-tax arguments didn't sway voters to repeal cigarette taxes, as they upheld 1998's 50-cent-a-pack hike. And they even gave something of a vote of confidence to their leaders, turning back three different political reform initiatives, including a comprehensive campaign-finance reform.

Looking down the ballot, it was a good year to be running as an incumbent, except for a handful running for Congress. One longtime incumbent, eight-term Representative Matthew "Marty" Martinez (D-El Monte), was decisively cashed out by state Senator Hilda Solis (D-El Monte). Perhaps more significantly for the national

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parties, incumbent Representative James Rogan (R-Glendale), he of the House impeachment managers, polled nearly two points behind state Senator Adam Schiff (D-Glendale) in an open-primary preview of their much-anticipated head-to-head contest this fall.

In state legislative races, there were few surprises as far as results, but some interesting victory margins. Most stunning was the beating that Sierra and Sacramento Valley voters gave to GOP lobbyist R.K. "Skip" Daum. Daum spent a large chunk of his own money to take on conservative Assemblyman Rico Oller in the First Senate District, but his grabbing television advertisement depicting a savage bear hunt was seen by many voters as going too far. Daum came in third. The two other marquee primary match-ups ended with victories by Assemblyman Jack Scott (D-Pasadena) in the 21st Senate District and Assemblywoman Sheila Kuehl (D-Santa Monica) in the 23rd. Each spent more than $1 million. Some new prospective battlegrounds popped into view for the fall campaign, as Democrats fell short of expectations in Stockton and San Diego contests and the GOP fell short in an eastern San Gabriel Valley race.

As was the case in the presidential race, much of the attention in the state Assembly contests centered around the GOP's ideological antagonisms. Candidates identified as targets by the conservative-led Liberty Caucus batted .500 — six of 12. Two of those defeats, however, came in conservative-dominated Orange County, including the nomination of a pro-choice moderate to fill the seat being vacated by termed-out Assembly GOP Leader Scott Baugh (R-Huntington Beach). Other surprises included conservative Jeff Denham over moderate Laura Perry in the Salinas-based 28th District and the decisive victory of La Canada-Flintridge Mayor Carol Liu over former Screen Actors Guild President Barry Gordon in the Pasadena-based 44th District.

There were also a variety of local contests, producing at least one modest surprise — the failure of conservative Sacramento City Councilman Robbie Waters to survive the primary in the race for Sacramento mayor. But when the history of the March 2000 primary is written, most of it will be about California's active engagement in the presidential contest. Even though it fell short of being the be-all-and-end-all, the California primary did make a difference in deciding the presidential combatants.

Finally.

President

NAME/PARTY	VOTE TOTAL	PARTY %	TOTAL %
(Winners in bold)			
Bradley (D)	579,303	20	9
Gore (D)	**2,369,332**	**80**	**35**
LaRouche (D)	17,756	0	0
Bauer (R)	9,299	0	0
Bush (R)	**1,940,201**	**52**	**28**
Forbes (R)	12,838	0	0
Hatch (R)	8,273	0	0
Keyes (R)	151,961	4	2
McCain (R)	1,599,318	43	23
Phillips (AI)	**8,161**	**100**	**0**
Kovel (G)	6,031	6	0
Nader (G)	**101,165**	**94**	**2**
Browne (L)	**18,647**	**62**	**0**
Hines (L)	2,718	9	0
Hollist (L)	2,285	8	0
Lee (L)	3,552	12	0
Smith (L)	2,718	9	0
Hagelin (NL)	**5,298**	**100**	**0**
Anderson (RF)	2,794	9	0
Bowman (RF)	4,315	14	0
Collins (RF)	1,620	5	0
Trump (RF)	**13,673**	**44**	**0**
Weber (RF)	8,535	28	0

A funny thing happened on the way to California's March 7 presidential primary.

Secretary of State Bill Jones, the highest-ranking Republican officeholder in the state, held a press conference in Los Angeles in mid-February to announce he was switching his endorsement in the 2000 GOP presidential contest. His original candidate was Texas Governor George W. Bush. His new pick: U.S. Senator John McCain of Arizona.

It wasn't just that Jones had dumped Bush for McCain that made the announcement notable. After all, the former POW had been riding the news media "love train" since his big win in the New Hampshire presidential primary, and it was inevitable that some would get caught up in the hype. But what really made the event unusual was that Jones' defection was the lead story for much of the national afternoon news cycle. Bill Jones even trumped former presidential candidate Gary Bauer, who announced his backing for McCain the same day.

After three decades, California was no longer the icing on the cake — it *was* the cake.

In the end, California fell just short of being the actual turning point for the presidential nomination. But the state drew attention more commensurate with its size and power, and its days as the "automatic teller machine" of presidential politics appear gone forever. Most of the credit for the change goes to the new, early primary date. Moved up in 1998 to help the stillborn presidential bid of former Governor Pete Wilson, the early March contest became the biggest prize this Super Tuesday, a collection of more than

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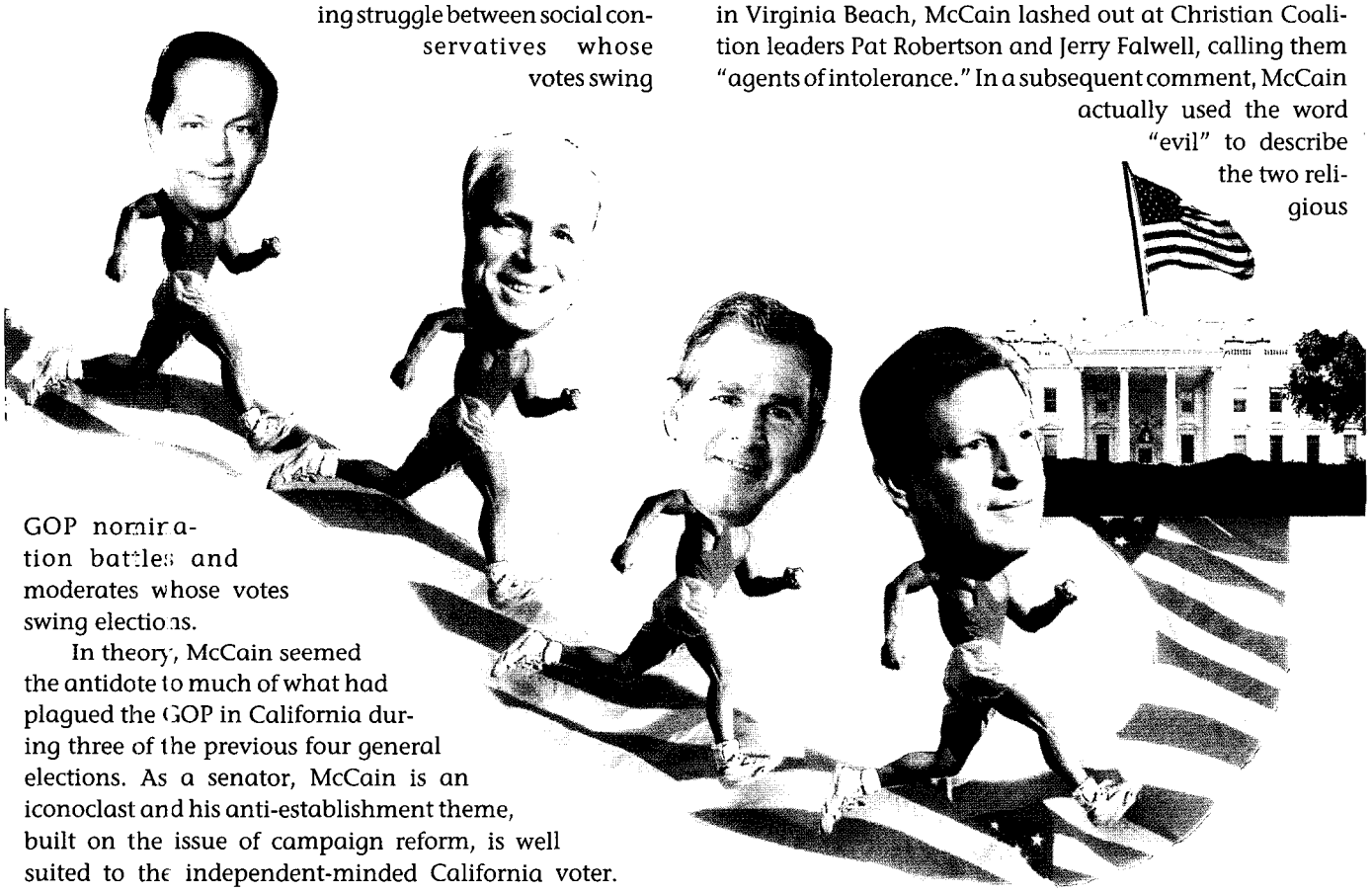
a dozen state contests, including New York, Ohio and Georgia.

Of course, Super Tuesday would not have been nearly as super if there hadn't been candidates making a race out of it on one side or the other. Most of the real competition occurred on the Republican side. The battle between Bush and McCain produced about 700,000 more Republican than Democratic votes in the presidential primary. More significantly, it placed a spotlight on the seemingly unending struggle between social conservatives whose votes swing GOP nomination battles and moderates whose votes swing elections.



In theory, McCain seemed the antidote to much of what had plagued the GOP in California during three of the previous four general elections. As a senator, McCain is an iconoclast and his anti-establishment theme, built on the issue of campaign reform, is well suited to the independent-minded California voter. McCain also positioned himself as a moderate alternative to Bush. The Texas governor's appearance at Bob Jones University in South Carolina became the code by which Bush identified himself with the religious right. McCain's efforts to distance himself from that wing of the party was in step with similar efforts going on within the California GOP, notwithstanding its overwhelming support for Bush.

Despite his apparent resonance with the stated objectives of some GOP leaders, McCain faced two major problems in California. One, just about every major and minor GOP player had already signed on with Bush. Two, the primary deck was overwhelmingly stacked against him.

The back-and-forth sparring between McCain and Bush during the two weeks following New Hampshire only served to elevate California's relative importance. The oddball bifurcation of the state's presidential primary, in which overall blanket-primary votes would be counted for show and intra-party results would be counted for delegates, became a common topic among insiders. Pundits talked of the GOP "Nightmare Scenario," one in which Bush would win the GOP-only delegate count even as McCain polled ahead of him in the overall "beauty contest" vote tally. Perhaps most significantly, Jones became a major figure in the national campaign when he switched his allegiance from Bush to McCain prior to the Michigan primary.

For McCain — and for California — the turning point came in the days leading up to the February 23rd Virginia primary. In a speech to a gathering of high-school students in Virginia Beach, McCain lashed out at Christian Coalition leaders Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell, calling them "agents of intolerance." In a subsequent comment, McCain actually used the word "evil" to describe the two religious leaders, an expression he later insisted was a joke. The impact of the comments was electric among social conservatives in California. The personalization of McCain's case against the religious right — as well as his charge that Bush was biased against Catholics — turned the contest into something of a holy war.

That politicization virtually guaranteed that McCain would lose the closed delegate-counting primary in California. But Bush's victory in Virginia, though not overwhelming, was decisive enough to give him a push going into Super Tuesday and especially California. McCain didn't help his own cause. The temperamental senator got caught up in the tactical tit-for-tat of the campaign and lost sight of his reform message for most of the run-up to Super Tuesday.

The two combatants took their battle to the airwaves in California. McCain emphasized his personal story in attractive biography spots, while Bush pushed the "reformer with results" theme. Bush also ran a full slate of

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Spanish-language ads and conducted a Univision-sponsored town hall meeting in Los Angeles. Both campaigns benefited from independent expenditures geared around Bush's environmental record in Texas. The Sierra Club hit Bush for his pollution record, while some Bush backers financed spots defending the Texas governor.

Perhaps McCain's biggest tactical blunder came eight days before the primary when his campaign announced he would not participate in a long-planned debate with Bush and second-tier candidate Alan Keyes in Los Angeles. The debate, co-sponsored by the *Los Angeles Times* and CNN, was slated to air four days before Super Tuesday. The decision not to debate was rooted in McCain's desire to concentrate on New York, where he was still competitive. But it created such dissension in the ranks that his communications director, former Wilson aide Dan Schnur, publicly criticized the move. Schnur's outspokenness nearly cost him his job, but he won the battle, as McCain reversed himself and appeared in the match-up by satellite. But the damage to McCain's California standing had been done and, by the weekend before the election, polls showed Bush not only ahead in the delegate contest, but also ahead in the "beauty contest."

Lost in the hype surrounding the Bush-McCain fight was what was left of the Democratic primary contest between Vice President Al Gore and former New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley. Bradley had actually out-raised Gore in California, an advantage fueled by his early attractiveness to Silicon Valley. But the Gore-Bradley dust-up was over the minute that Bradley lost New Hampshire, and California figured to be merely a coda to Bradley's cerebral challenge from the left.

Despite the relative certainty of victory in California, Gore spent millions on television advertising in a bid to run up the score, emphasizing his support for abortion rights and his advocacy of health-care reform. Assisted by Governor Gray Davis' chief political aide, Garry South, the Gore campaign talked up Gore's support of gun control and environmental protection, issues that figure to be sources of conflict in the fall.

When all the votes were counted, both Gore and Bush were able to claim victory. But the post-election exit polling gave a glimpse of the hurdles ahead if Bush is to break the California Democrats' advantage in a statewide campaign. In a head-to-head match-up here, Gore leads Bush by eight points — 51-43. Moreover, despite his strong push among Latino voters, Bush scored only 18 percent among Latinos, well behind the 56 percent earned by Gore. Given that this was a primary electorate, and an especially conservative one at that, these numbers don't bode well for the GOP in the fall.

Despite those numbers (or perhaps because of them), the Bush campaign insists it will stay in California to the bitter end, both in advertising and in their candidate's personal commitment. If that vow holds, it would be a departure from the last two elections, in which the GOP nominee let off the gas pedal in the last few weeks to concentrate time and resources elsewhere. For Gore, no such guarantees are needed: California has become an essential component of the Democrats' Electoral College arithmetic.

Other results of note in the presidential primary included a sixth-place finish in the open primary by consumer advocate Ralph Nader. Running as a Green, Nader vowed to run a more expansive presidential campaign in the fall than he did in 1996. Former Illinois Representative John Anderson was back on the ballot two decades after his first independent presidential campaign. He finished fourth in the Reform Party race, well behind Donald Trump, who earlier had dropped out of the race.

— Steve Scott

U.S. Senate

The result was as expected. Incumbent U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein breezed through a virtually uncontested Democratic primary. At the same time, the 67-year-old San Franciscan underscored the daunting task that faces her Republican challenger if he hopes to unseat her in November. In a blanket primary that prefaced the election to come, Feinstein out-polled the entire six-man Republican field by 600,000 votes — a performance magnified by the fact that 700,000 more people voted in the GOP presidential primary than on the Democratic side.

The Republican primary was won by U.S. Representative Tom Campbell, who now faces an electoral challenge akin to Everest. Campbell won rather handily against a weak field, capturing some 900,000 more votes than his nearest GOP competitor — state Senator Ray Haynes of Riverside. San Diego County Supervisor Bill Horn finished a distant third.

Campbell's victory, however, is bittersweet. A Stanford law professor armed with an imposing resume, Campbell first ran for the U.S. Senate in 1992 but fell frustratingly short of the GOP nomination, losing the primary to conservative talk-show host Bruce Herschensohn by less than 30,000 votes. Herschensohn then lost the general election to liberal Democrat Barbara Boxer.

Instead of fading into electoral history, Campbell won a seat in the state Senate, then managed a return engagement to the U.S. House in a 1995 special election. More

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NAME/PARTY	VOTE TOTAL	PARTY %	TOTAL%
(Winners in bold)			
Feinstein (D*)	**3,398,533**	**95**	**51**
Schmier (D)	166,809	5	3
Haynes (R)	608,422	23	9
Brown (R)	62,636	2	1
Dao (R)	56,311	2	1
Campbell (R)	**1,520,236**	**56**	**23**
Horn (R)	404,707	15	6
Gough (R)	53,411	2	1
Templin (AI)	**35,510**	**100**	**1**
Tucker (G)	32,027	26	0
Benjamin (G)	**90,241**	**74**	**1**
Lightfoot (L)	**109,545**	**100**	**2**
Rees (NL)	**23,913**	**100**	**0**
Camahort (RF)	**42,486**	**71**	**1**
Geisler (RF)	17,724	29	0

important, he sponsored a successful ballot initiative in part designed to loosen the conservative grip on Republican Party politics — Proposition 198, the March 1996 measure that created the blanket primary. The 2000 primary made Campbell a prime beneficiary of his own handiwork. He used a healthy treasury and credentials as a social moderate to attract both independents and crossover Democrats to his flag. Haynes and Horn both tried to attack Campbell from the right, but neither candidate had the resources to mount much of an effort.

Now, Campbell has the nomination he feels he was denied eight years ago. But instead of facing Boxer, Campbell must take on Feinstein — the very definition of a centrist Democrat — in a year that thus far has been very good for incumbents.

Feinstein

The breadth of Feinstein's strength — and the magnitude of the chore facing Republicans — is revealed in results from around the state, especially those areas that traditionally vote Republican. The San Francisco Democrat, who finished first in every county, took 38 percent of the overall vote in Orange County, where Republicans traditionally must win two-to-one to offset Democratic gains elsewhere. Campbell, on the other hand, won only 31 percent of that vote, with Haynes accounting for 14 percent. Feinstein won 42 and 41 percent of the vote, respectively, in San Bernardino and Riverside counties and captured 46 percent of the vote in San Diego County, a south state bastion of independent Republicanism. More significantly, Feinstein won 54 percent of the vote in Santa Clara County — Tom Campbell's home turf — and 63 percent of neighboring San Mateo County.

She, of course, carried traditional Democratic strongholds. In Los Angeles County, for instance, she took 60 percent of the vote, and her raw tally was nearly twice that of the entire GOP field. In every venue, she ran substantially ahead of the Democratic presidential frontrunner, Vice President Al Gore.

Can Campbell be competitive? Feinstein's previous reelection campaign, in 1994 against millionaire Congressman Michael Huffington, proved that enough money spent on negative and distorted television advertising can cut just about anyone down to size. Feinstein barely held off Huffington after the Santa Barbara Republican mounted a relentless series of personal attacks on Feinstein's character.

But that was 1994, when Democrats — especially Democratic incumbents — were on the defensive everywhere. And Campbell seems to have more scruples than did Huffington. Ironically, he also has much more to offer as a candidate. A Stanford law professor with a background that also includes a doctorate in economics from the University of Chicago, Campbell brings a cerebral, if often quirky, approach to public service. He has, for instance, advocated legalizing drugs as a way to combat the crime that often accompanies drug addiction, and replacing the national income tax with a national sales tax. He also is pro-choice and supports some gun control, thereby neutralizing two key issues for the Democrats.

Campbell

Still, his road to the Senate is straight uphill against an incumbent who led him in a March poll by a margin of 52 to 19, an incumbent known by virtually all California voters and viewed favorably by nearly 60 percent of them. To cut into those numbers, Campbell must do more than simply dangle his resume in front of the electorate. He must draw contrasts with Feinstein that appeal to voters, and that challenge could force him onto the same negative path traveled by Huffington in 1994.

Unfortunately for Campbell, the electorate seems to have grown tired of relentlessly negative campaigns. As GOP presidential contender John McCain and others discovered in this primary, the camp that lobs the first stone often suffers the most grievous injury.

Of course, Campbell could hope that some kind of wholesale economic disaster reduces the country's roaring prosperity to rubble and puts every incumbent — Feinstein included — at risk.

Not a very appealing alternative, and not much of a launching point for an underdog campaign.

— *A.G. Block*

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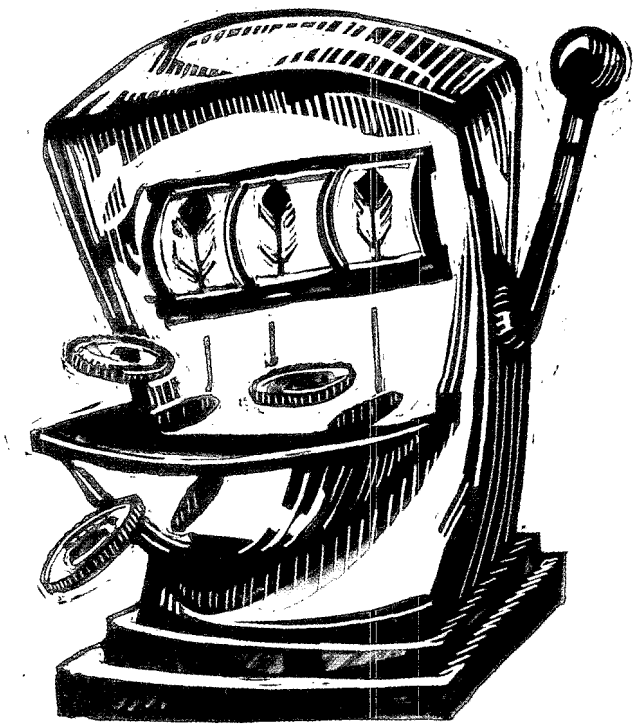
A ballot mouthful

With an unusually lengthy list of ballot propositions — 20 in all — to chew on, voters sat down to a plate piled high. Some of those measures — from Indian gambling to gay marriage to insurance reform — came heaped with a huge serving of media blitz, as campaigns pro and con fed voters their message. Our CJ coverage looks at the headline-grabbers first, then continues through the March menu of ballot propositions.



Proposition 1A (Indian tribal gaming)

Yes	4,295,280	65%
No	2,359,478	35%

Proposition 29 (Indian gaming)

Yes	3,293,597	53%
No	2,921,789	47%

For the second time, and by an equally resounding margin, voters said "yes" to California's Indian tribes and their long-held desire to legally expand gambling casinos on tribal lands. Proposition 1A's passage allows casino tribes to add up to 2,000 video slot machines per casino and, for the first time, offer blackjack and other Nevada-style card games.

In doing so, voters brushed aside concerns from Proposition 1A's opponents that it will unleash an unprecedented proliferation of Vegas-style gambling, turning California into what they call "Nevada West."

But for tribes, Proposition 1A represents a ticket to economic prosperity, the chance to provide health care, education and housing, while keeping their people permanently off welfare.

That ticket did not come cheap. Over the past two years and through two ballot campaigns, tribes have poured roughly $100 million into the effort to secure gambling rights.

A year-and-a-half ago,California tribes shattered national spending records for ballot initiatives by funneling some $63 million into Proposition 5, the first ballot measure asking voters to approve casino-style gambling on tribal lands. Their primary opposition was Nevada casinos. This year, with those Nevada casinos silent on Proposition 1A, the tribes spent roughly $30 million, a relatively modest sum.

But for Waltona Manion, tribal spokeswoman for the California Nations Indian Gaming Association, the issue is not how much was spent. "This election can't be measured in dollars and cents. It's measured in Indian dignity and self-reliance," said Manion. "For the first time in Indian

history, tribes have the financial ability to defend themselves."

That was not the case with Proposition 1A's opponents, a loosely knit coalition of church groups, local community activists and gambling-addiction support groups. Vastly underfunded, their donor list contained less than a dozen names and amounted to some $45,000. They ran virtually no paid advertising, except for a last-minute series of radio spots on just four stations statewide during the final weekend before the election.

Their message was that Proposition 1A's passage would trigger an "explosion" of Nevada-style gambling in California, resulting in numerous gambling-related problems, such as addiction, underage gambling and other social costs. They also predicted it would result in pressure from cardrooms and racetracks to be allowed the same kind of gambling now permitted on Indian lands.

That pressure became apparent within hours of Proposition 1A's passage as Donald Trump, the Atlantic City gambling tycoon, announced plans to invest in the expansion of an existing tribal casino near Palm Springs. At the same time, Haig Kelegian, the head of California's cardrooms association, announced he would file a lawsuit against Proposition 1A unless the governor and the Legislature help the state's 152 cardrooms stay competitive by allowing them to offer some of the same card games as tribes.

Proposition 1A wound up on the ballot after Proposition 5, the 1998 ballot measure that first handed tribes permission to run video slot machines on tribal land, was thrown out by the California Supreme Court on constitutional grounds. Subsequently, Governor Gray Davis negotiated new compacts, which were signed by nearly 60 tribes. As part of those compacts, Proposition 1A was placed on the ballot as a constitutional amendment. It was catapulted to the top of the ballot by the Legislature, which passed a bill designating the measure "1A" to boost its chances for passage.

Tribes began airing their statewide TV spots in January, returning Mark Macarro, chairman of the Pechanga Band of Luiseno Indians, to the airwaves. They also ran full-page newspaper ads and radio spots in major media markets. The tribes delivered the same message as in 1998: tribal gaming is about Indian self-reliance.

The tribes emphasized that Proposition 1A would limit the number of video slot machines to 2,000 per casino, allow employees to unionize and provide up to $1.1 million annually for non-gaming tribes. Indians would also make quarterly payments based on the number of slot machines they own in order to reimburse the state for such costs as gambling addiction programs and casino impacts on local communities.

In the vote's aftermath, former Democratic Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, one of the measure's most vocal opponents, declared that the governor and gambling interests had "unleashed a monster...With absolutely no exaggeration, within five years, the California/Nevada market will be the biggest gambling center anywhere in the world."

But tribal spokeswoman Manion said tribal gaming facilities will never reach the same scale as Las Vegas because of the caps on slot machines and the time limits on contracts with Trump-like gambling companies.

Meanwhile, tribes are braced for a lawsuit, possibly from owners of racetracks, cardroom and bingo charities, challenging Proposition 1A on constitutional grounds, just as Proposition 5 was two years ago. A number of attorneys close to the Proposition 5 lawsuit speculated that the new measure, by granting tribes exclusive rights to operate casino-style gambling, violates the United States Constitution's equal protection amendment.

Although most voters contemplating Indian gaming were riveted on Proposition 1A, there actually were two measures concerning tribal casinos on the March ballot. Proposition 29 was a rival, earlier tribal gambling agreement that was reviled by most tribal leaders. Even its supporters concede Proposition 29's ballot victory was likely an electoral fluke. With two Indian gaming measures on the ballot, Proposition 29 may have won simply because voters mistakenly believed they were supporting tribes by voting "Yes."

In reality, Proposition 29 was bitterly opposed by California's tribes, who felt its restrictive terms would spell economic ruin for tribal casinos. The ballot measure was a referendum to formally approve the so-called Pala Compacts, which were negotiated by former Governor Pete Wilson and the Pala Band of Mission Indians in 1998 and subsequently signed by 11 tribes.

The Pala Compacts curtailed both the number and the type of slot machines allowed in tribal casinos. They required tribes to mitigate land-use and environmental concerns of local communities. And they required tribes to offer health benefits and allow union representation among casino employees.

Casino tribes were so outraged by the terms of the compacts that they launched Proposition 5, which in turn led to Proposition 1A on the recent ballot.

There was virtually no campaigning done by either side on Proposition 29. Tribes preferred to keep voters focused on winning approval of Proposition 1A.

Proposition 29's supporters, including the National Coalition Against Gambling Expansion and Stand Up for California!, did not have the funds to mount any kind of serious challenge.

Although Proposition 29 was approved by voters, it was rendered moot by the passage of Proposition 1A. However, it may not be entirely dead if Proposition 1A is challenged in court, which some legal observers say is likely. In one of those political twists of fate, if Proposition 1A is dealt the same fate as Proposition 5 and thrown out on constitutional grounds, the only gaming compact in effect would then be Proposition 29, the one most hated by tribes.

— Claudia Buck

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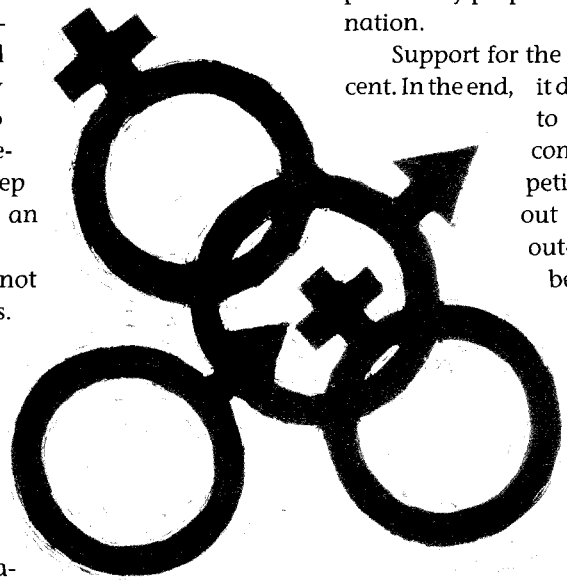
Proposition 22 (Same-sex marriage)

Yes	**4,162,017**	**61%**
No	2,618,337	39%

Like speeding cars heading into zero-visibility fog, the Proposition 22 campaign had all the potential to be truly ugly and bloody as it hurtled toward Election Day. But just enough control was maintained, especially by proponents of the initiative to recognize marriage as only between a man and a woman, to keep the campaign from becoming an all-out bloodbath.



Nevertheless, the race was not without emotion on both sides. But compared to past campaigns targeting homosexuals — such as Proposition 6 in 1978, the so-called "Briggs Initiative" that sought the firing of gay teachers — Proposition 22 avoided spiraling into a state of gay-bashing.

Proponents did not take a "rabid homophobic approach," noted Democratic political consultant Darry Sragow. "The debate was more civil than it might have been."

The folks running the "Yes on 22" campaign — which was heavily backed by the Mormon Church, Catholic leaders and many evangelical denominations — shrewdly did not resort to assailing the biblical evils of homosexuality. Had they done so, the measure might have failed, said Republican consultant Tony Quinn. That's because proponents would have played right into the hands of the opposition, which tried repeatedly to convince voters that Proposition 22 was a disguised attack on homosexuals.

Instead, the "Yes" campaign stayed on message, consistently telling voters that Proposition 22 was about family and traditional values. One television ad showed a Latino family reunion and was aimed at garnering support among Latinos, many of whom voted for the initiative, according to one exit poll. In that ad and others by proponents, the word gay was carefully avoided. When homosexuals were mentioned, the reference included recognition that homosexuals have a right to their own relationships, as long as that right didn't "redefine marriage."

In addition, proponents took pains to recognize the legitimacy of domestic partnerships, after opponents argued that Proposition 22's true intent was to begin rolling back the legal rights won by gays and lesbians in recent years.

Opponents tried personalizing the debate, saying Proposition 22's author, state Senator Pete Knight (R-Palmdale), was acting out because of his estranged relationship with his gay son.

But they were unable to sway voters. It didn't help that Proposition 22's opponents were outspent by supporters by nearly a 2-1 margin: $5 million vs. $9.5 million.

In the wake of Proposition 22's overwhelming victory — it won in all counties except Alameda, San Francisco, Sonoma, Marin and Santa Cruz — one of the few things that gay and lesbian leaders could take solace in was the promise by proponents to oppose future anti-gay discrimination.

Support for the initiative never dipped below 50 percent. In the end, it did even better at the polls — 61 percent to 39 percent — in part because of a conservative electorate drawn by the competitive GOP presidential primary. Turnout also may have been boosted by get-out-the-vote efforts among church members and the Traditional Values Coalition.

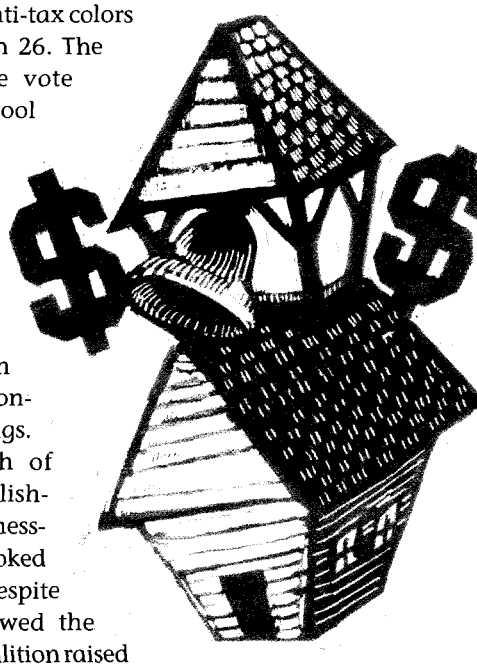
Voters, however, may not have seen the last of the gay marriage issue this election year. An initiative petition for a constitutional amendment legalizing same-sex marriages has been in circulation and must submit its 670,000 signatures in April to qualify for the November ballot. If it does, there is no guarantee that the next campaign over gay marriage will be quite as restrained as Proposition 22's was.

— Noel Brinkerhoff

Proposition 26 (School bonds, majority vote)

Yes	3,178,775	49%
No	**3,333,368**	**51%**

The conservative primary electorate showed some of its anti-tax colors by defeating Proposition 26. The measure, reducing the vote threshold on local school bonds from two-thirds to a simple majority, was backed by a broad, and somewhat unlikely, coalition that included the California Teachers Association and high-tech magnates such as millionaire activist Reed Hastings.



The unique match of CTA's education establishment and Hastings' business-community bona fides looked like a pretty good bet, despite early polling that showed the measure trailing. The coalition raised

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and spent roughly $25 million, primarily on television, radio and print ads. During the campaign, proponents stressed that the measure was necessary to replace decaying school buildings and to accommodate booming student enrollment.

Anti-tax groups argued that lowering the threshold would eliminate a key taxpayer protection and ultimately would result in significantly higher property taxes. These opponents, spearheaded by the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, raised and spent about $1.5 million, much of it going to radio spots, slate mailers and a Web site. While no match for the proponents' firepower, Proposition 26's foes also had history and a lingering anti-tax sentiment on their side. Voters, after all, resoundingly rejected a similar measure, Proposition 170, in 1993 and polls a month prior to the election suggested that Proposition 26 would meet the same fate.

As the election drew near, the poll numbers began looking better, but the backlash against U.S. Senator John McCain's attack on the religious right drew to the polls a more conservative electorate than expected. The measure also took a crucial, and unexpected, hit in Los Angeles County. Normally a reliable source of votes for such tax-law changes, L.A. County voters appear to have used their Proposition 26 votes to punish the Los Angeles Unified School District for its mishandling of a major high school construction project, the Belmont Learning Center.

— Emelyn Rodriguez

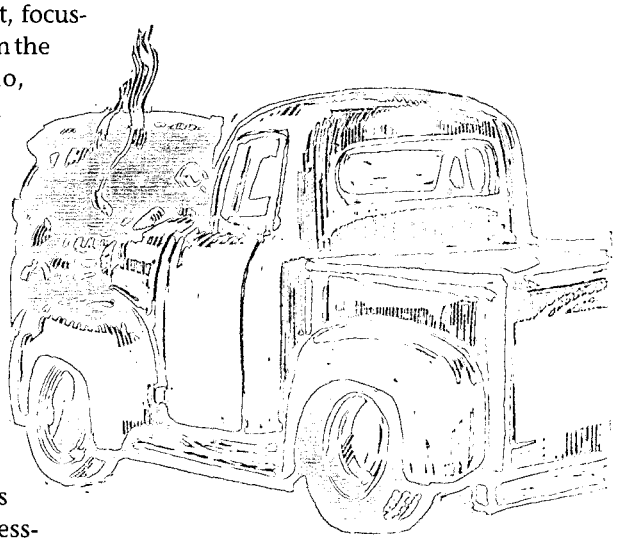
Proposition 30 (Insurance lawsuits)		
Yes	2,012,402	31%
No	**4,372,823**	**69%**

Proposition 31 (Insurance amendments)		
Yes	1,786,923	28%
No	**4,502,126**	**72%**

The campaign surrounding Propositions 30 and 31 was billed as the special-interest Super Bowl of the 2000 primary. It turned out to be exactly like its football namesake: Lots of money and hype wasted on a game that was over almost before it began.

In this case, the winning side had the advantage of being able to play on both sides of the ball. The referendums — which would have ratified laws allowing car accident victims to sue insurance companies when those companies showed bad faith in settling claims — were placed on the ballot after a $40 million qualifying effort bankrolled by an insurer-led coalition. Because of the way ballot referendums are worded, the coalition was able to argue the advantageous "no" position.

The coalition used this advantage to great effect, spending upwards of $70 million to attack the propositions as dangerous to the pocketbooks of everyone except trial attorneys. The "no" side was careful not to aim its guns at the Legislature that had passed the law and the governor who signed it, focusing instead on the lawyers who, they argued, would profit by it.



Supporters of bad-faith liability laws tried their best to answer back, recycling advertisements from a successful effort four years earlier taking aim at "corporate wolves." The "Yes" coalition, bankrolled largely by contributions from individual trial lawyers, also touted its support from consumer advocate Ralph Nader and the American Association of Retired Persons.

A sizable chunk of late money flowed into the "Yes" campaign, boosting total spending into the range of $5-10 million. But that was no match for the insurers' limitless

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bankroll and extremely effective campaign that aired on multiple fronts. Add to that the boost from conservative voters drawn to the polls by the GOP presidential primary and you have the formula for a massacre.

In the primary's aftermath, there were reports that the trial lawyers would try again in the Legislature. But the campaign results — and Governor Gray Davis' political cautiousness — augur against such an effort succeeding.

— Steve Scott

The Bond Measures

Proposition 12 (Parks and Water)		
Yes	**4,197,770**	**63%**
No	2,454,215	38%

Proposition 13 (Drinking Water)		
Yes	**4,281,156**	**65%**
No	2,329,720	35%

Proposition 14 (Library Construction)		
Yes	**3,874,911**	**59%**
No	2,698,279	41%

Proposition 15 (Crime Labs)		
Yes	2,940,059	46%
No	**3,404,959**	**54%**

Proposition 16 (Veterans' Homes)		
Yes	**3,979,650**	**63%**
No	2,395,325	38%

Bond propositions always enjoy a natural advantage on a statewide ballot. Since they are generally lumped right at the top, voters see them when they're fresh, before they start getting steamed about all the legislating they must do via their votes.

Although the Legislature trumped the bonds by moving the Indian gambling measure to the front of the line, voters were still unusually warm toward the bond measures, approving four of the five they saw by sizable majorities.

The votes in support of Propositions 12 and 13 were especially striking given their size and fairly complicated levels of distribution. Legislatively, the two measures were catch-alls. Proposition 12, worth about $2.1 billion, spent money on everything from open-space land purchases to upgrades of playgrounds. Proposition 13 was a $1.95 billion water bond whose recipients were so diverse that it drew support from environmentalists and farmers alike.

The campaigns in support of those two bonds stressed their interconnectedness, a connection based mainly on the legislative politics that got them to the ballot in the first place. Still, with the economy humming and quality-of-life issues coming to the fore, contented voters seemed only too happy to spring for the additional statewide improvements. They were similarly bullish on a $350 million bond measure for local library construction and renovation (Proposition 14), as well as a $50 million plan for completion and improvement of state homes for veterans (Proposition 16). All four were approved with "yes" votes ranging from 60 to 65 percent.

The one blot on the bond ledger was Proposition 15. The $220 million measure to finance construction and upgrading of the state's crime labs appears to have run afoul of the conservative electorate looking to prove it wasn't just a rubber stamp. While the votes in San Francisco and Los Angeles were strongly supportive, conservative Orange and San Diego counties went heavily against the measure, as did voters in the Central Valley. Some analysts believe the measure fell victim to voter ambivalence about prior prison bonds, even though the bond did nothing to build prisons. The defeat also may have been a function of the relative uniqueness of the bond's target. While voters are accustomed to voting up or down on parks, water, libraries and veterans services, this is the first time that crime labs have ever appeared on the ballot as a bond recipient.

— Steve Scott

The "Other" Propositions

Proposition 17 (Lotteries and Raffles)		
Yes	**3,702,053**	**59%**
No	2,617,334	41%

Proposition 18 (Murder)		
Yes	**4,594,813**	**72%**
No	1,759,236	28%

Proposition 19 (Peace Officers)		
Yes	**4,613,078**	**74%**
No	1,670,862	26%

Proposition 20 (State Lottery)		
Yes	**3,356,341**	**53%**
No	2,973,399	47%

Proposition 21 (Juvenile Crime)		
Yes	**4,040,544**	**62%**
No	2,478,824	38%

Proposition 23 (None of the Above)		
Yes	2,120,074	36%
No	**3,766,032**	**64%**

Proposition 25 (Campaign Finance)		
Yes	2,210,074	35%
No	**4,130,975**	**65%**

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Proposition 27 (Congressional Term Limits)		
Yes	2,475,014	41%
No	**3,632,862**	**59%**

Proposition 28 (Repeal Tobacco Tax)		
Yes	1,834,403	28%
No	**4,694,149**	**72%**

The electorate that passed judgment on March's lengthy lineup of ballot propositions was looking through conservative, but essentially contented, eyes. As a result, voters were not only tough on crime, but also on would-be political reformers.

Despite their ambivalence about law-enforcement expenditures, evidenced in the rejection of funding for crime labs in Proposition 15, voters seemed only too happy to back ever-tougher sentences, approving three measures boosting criminal penalties for violent crimes. Two of those — Propositions 18 and 19 — were low-profile slam dunks. The former allows the death penalty in a broader expanse of murder and kidnapping cases. The latter, which added BART and CSU police officers to the list of those for whom second-degree murder carries a bigger penalty, was the top vote-getter among all 20 ballot initiatives.

By far, the most controversial of the crime initiatives was Proposition 21. Former Governor Pete Wilson's political swan song and a holdover from 1998, it expanded the range of crimes for which juveniles could be tried as adults and dramatically expanded penalties for gang-related crimes. While the campaign on both sides was decidedly second-tier, supporters were able to scrape together enough for a modest television and radio buy. Opponents depended largely on free media attention, and had hoped to make inroads by pointing up the expansive prison construction that would be needed. The conservative cast to the electorate killed any chance of that argument sticking.

If voters' hard-line stance toward criminals was the continuation of a tradition, their reaction to three political reform measures was a decided break from the past. Not only did the electorate turn up its nose at yet another campaign-finance reform initiative, it also rejected two somewhat quirkier reforms.

The most counter-intuitive result came with the decisive defeat of Proposition 25, the campaign-finance reform measure which limited the size of contributions and added a modest amount of public financing. Placed on the ballot by millionaire gadfly Ron Unz and backed by Common Cause and presidential aspirant U.S. Senator John McCain, Proposition 25 was the target of a significant, though not overwhelming, media campaign bankrolled largely by organized labor and the Democratic Party. The business community also chipped in to help the opposition.

The coalition made the case that the initiative would advantage millionaires (like Unz) whose personal contributions would continue to be exempt. As if to make the point, Unz's campaign got a last-minute boost from another fellow millionaire, Max Palevsky, who chipped in nearly $1 million in the closing days to bankroll TV advertising touting the measure's backing from consumer advocate Ralph Nader.

Ultimately, it wasn't enough, as most polls showed the tide running against Unz even before the bump in conservative participation. While Unz blames a variety of tactical judgments for his defeat, those judgments don't explain the simultaneous defeat of Proposition 23 (which added "None of the Above" to the ballot) and Proposition 27 (which allowed congressional candidates to include a non-binding term-limits pledge on the ballot).

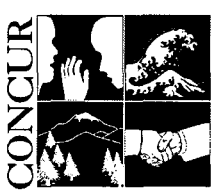
In all three cases, voters appeared willing, at least for now, to give their elected officials the benefit of the doubt. They also appear to be showing signs of "reform burnout." Over the last two decades, a range of reforms has been approved by voters, only to be struck down by the courts. The ballot pamphlet itself seemed to suggest that eventual fate, with its notation that another reform measure — Proposition 24 to restructure redistricting — had been removed from the ballot by the state Supreme Court.

The only health-related measure on the ballot was Proposition 28, which would have repealed Proposition 10, the 1998 voter-approved hike in the cigarette tax. Placed on the ballot by the owner of the Cheaper! convenience-store chain, the measure never really had a chance. Even tobacco-giant Philip Morris ran newspaper ads distancing itself from the effort. In this most anti-smoking of states, Proposition 28 received the fewest votes of any of the 20 propositions on the March ballot.

Two other below-the-radar-screen measures modified the state's lottery law. Proposition 17 made official the ability of nonprofit entities to have their own charity raffles, if approved by the Legislature. Proposition 20 required that half of any growth in lottery revenues be diverted to textbook purchases. Neither drew any kind of meaningful opposition and passed comfortably.

— Steve Scott

ENVIRONMENTAL NEGOTIATION TRAINING



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Congressional Districts

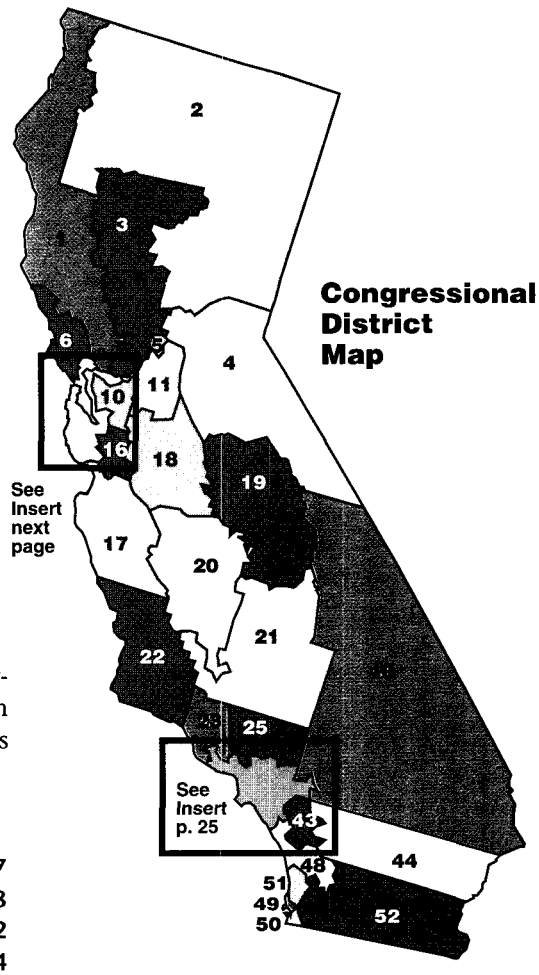
KEY

Parties
D = Democrat
R = Republican
AI = American Independent
G = Green
L = Libertarian
NL = Natural Law
PF = Peace & Freedom
RF = Reform
* = incumbent

Winners of each party's primary are listed in boldface. Some vote totals may change due to absentee ballots that remained uncounted as of press time. Readers will note three columns of numbers next to each candidate's name. The first column is that candidate's raw vote total. The second column is the percentage of the vote that candidate received compared with other candidates of the same party. The third column reflects a candidate's percent of the overall vote. In both cases, percentage numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number and, as a result, some district totals may add up to slightly more or less than 100 percent.

Voter registration numbers were provided by the Secretary of State's Office as of January 2000.

Vote totals are as of March 9, 2000. For the latest totals see the Secretary of State's Web page, www.ss.ca.gov/vote 2000.



DISTRICT 1 (47%D - 32%R - 14%DS)

Thompson(D)*	**103,377**	**100**	**65**
Chase(R)	**19,907**	**43**	**13**
Hitt(R)	13,651	29	9
Wiesner(R)	13,244	29	8
Rossi(L)	**4,077**	**100**	**3**
Kreier(NL)	**4,049**	**100**	**3**
Elizondo(RF)	**2,161**	**100**	**1**

The third time was a charm for retired businessman Jim Chase, who ran as a write-in in 1996 and then, in 1998, did poorly in the primary against Napa County Supervisor Mark Luce. He did little differently this time around, spending only minimally to circulate flyers and posters and self-design a Web site. But his name ID from previous elections kicked in. He beat Kenneth Hitt of Fairfield, a more energized and slightly better-financed competitor, for the Republican nomination. Chase will have to ratchet up his low-key campaign style to compete in the fall with Democratic incumbent Mike Thompson. After a stiff primary challenge by attorney Jim Hennefer two years ago, Thompson went unchallenged this time around in his bid for a second term. His fundraising prowess and support from nearly every corner of this expansive district give him more than a leg up in the fall. Besides, he picked up 65 percent of the general vote. Thompson and the Democrats will likely own this seat for another two years.

DISTRICT 2 (38%D - 44%R - 13%DS)

Morgan (D)	**45,399**	**100**	**27**
Herger (R)*	**116,076**	**100**	**68**
Martin (L)	**4,292**	**100**	**2**
McDermott (NL)	**5,970**	**100**	**4**

With more than two-thirds of the general vote in this easy-going primary, incumbent Republican Wally Herger has the wind at his back as he sails easily into an eighth term.

DISTRICT 3 (44%D - 39%R - 12%DS)

Kent (D)	**54,883**	**100**	**35**
Ose (R)*	**96,397**	**100**	**61**
Tuma (L)	**4,005**	**100**	**3**
Jones (NL)	**1,925**	**100**	**1**

Is the open primary a crystal ball for the general election? You certainly hope not if you're Democrat Bob Kent. If so, first-term Congressman Doug Ose is looking strong. Ose managed to do in 1998 what the Republican establishment loves best – snatch up a seat long held by a Democrat, in this case former Congressman Vic Fazio. Consequently, Ose will have no shortage of backing from his party.

DISTRICT 4 (36%D - 47%R - 12%DS)

Norberg (D)	**58,451**	**100**	**28**
Doolittle (R)*	**137,975**	**100**	**66**
Frey (L)	**6,469**	**100**	**3**
Ray (NL)	**5,906**	**100**	**3**

Congressman John Doolittle will always have his "dam" problems, but the realities of registration will save him any electoral ones.

DISTRICT 5 (54%D - 29%R -12%DS)

Matsui (D)*	**103,809**	**100**	**71**
Payne (R)	**35,409**	**100**	**24**
Adams (G)	**3,180**	**100**	**2**
Lang (L)	**2,610**	**100**	**2**
Kersey (NL)	**1,710**	**100**	**1**

And so the Republican baton has been passed from four-time loser Robert Dinsmore to businessman Ken Payne to take on veteran 11-term Con-

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gressman Bob Matsui. It won't get any easier, Ken.

DISTRICT 6 (54%D - 29%R - 12%DTS)

Woolsey (D)*	**125,357**	**100**	**66**
McAuliffe (R)	**52,922**	**100**	**28**
Moscoso (G)	**4,426**	**100**	**2**
Barton (L)	**3,755**	**100**	**2**
Barreca (NL)	**2,386**	**100**	**1**

Incumbent Democrat Lynn Woolsey and Republican Ken McCulliff will square off again for a repeat of 1998. With Woolsey pulling two-thirds of the general vote in the primary, she can expect to land a fifth term in Congress.

DISTRICT 7 (63%D - 22%R - 11%DS)

Miller (D)*	**93,093**	**100**	**75**
Hoffman (R)	**17,866**	**64**	**15**
Mraovich (R)	9,988	36	8
Sproul (NL)	**2,633**	**100**	**2**

Veteran incumbent George Miller got a taste of defeat this year when he strongly backed Democratic presidential hopeful Bill Bradley, even traveling to rural Iowa to campaign for him in the dead of winter. But Miller won't need to sweat his own campaign. Heading for a 14th term, he'll have plenty of time to concentrate on his role as the leading Democrat on the House Resources Committee.

DISTRICT 8 (73%D - 13%R - 23%DS)

Pelosi (D)*	**98,112**	**100**	**86**
Sparks (R)	**11,971**	**100**	**11**
Bauman (L)	**3,241**	**100**	**3**
Smithstein (NL)	**1,257**	**100**	**1**

Convinced that Democrats are on the verge of winning control of Congress, Nancy Pelosi has set her sights on becoming majority whip, which would make her the most powerful woman in the history of the House of Representatives. Since her re-election campaign poses no obstacles, it won't slow her cross-country jaunts to raise funds for more needy colleagues.

DISTRICT 9 (73%D - 11%R - 16%DS)

Lee (D)*	**105,472**	**100**	**85**
Washington (R)	**12,191**	**100**	**10**
Foldvary (L)	**4,126**	**100**	**3**
Jefferds (NL)	**2,144**	**100**	**2**

Incumbent Barbara Lee takes to heart the adage that all politics is local. When Lee isn't holding court in Washington, D.C., she is holding hearings on East Bay hospital mergers or weighing in on the Oakland city attorney's race. She's got the time, since the district's Democratic numbers make her re-election a shoo-in.

DISTRICT 10 (41%D - 41%R - 12%DS)

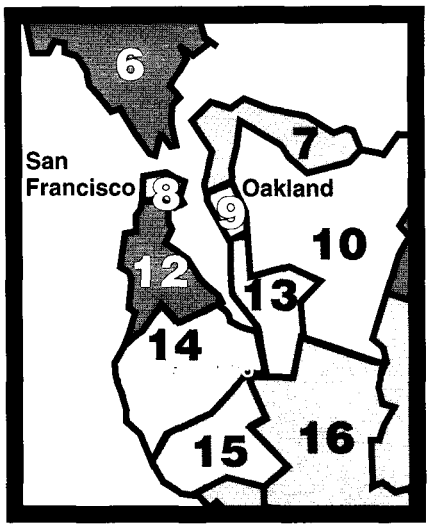
Tauscher (D)*	**101,679**	**100**	**54**
Blake (R)	27,857	35	15
Hutchison (R)	**33,338**	**41**	**18**
Kilian (R)	19,427	24	10
Janlois (NL)	**4,902**	**100**	**3**

Tauscher

Hutchison

Democrat Ellen Tauscher was an upset winner four years ago in this GOP-leaning district after using her checkbook to fund her own campaign and hammer conservative Republican Bill Baker over the issue of guns. Now Republicans are looking to upset her with moderate candidate Claude Hutchison, chair of the Contra Costa County Republican Party, who trounced two conservative colleagues in the primary. GOP leaders took a wait-and-see approach in the March contest but consider Hutchison their best bet to recapture the district in November and will likely pump resources into his campaign. Hutchison is already criticizing Tauscher for being an "absentee legislator," saying she spends more time in Washington, D.C. than in the district. But Tauscher, who drew a solid showing in the primary, will be a particularly tough opponent. She has established a centrist record in support of abortion rights, gun control, tax cuts for working families – all issues in step with this Contra Costa County-based district. The race promises to be one of the livelier congressional races this year.

San Francisco Bay Area



DISTRICT 11 (44%D - 44%R - 8%DS)

Figueroa (D)	17,782	38	14
Santos (D)	**28,481**	**62**	**22**
Pombo (R)*	**79,527**	**100**	**61**
Russow (L)	**3,018**	**100**	**2**
Kurey (NL)	**2,202**	**100**	**1**

Apparently, Democrats felt it was time for a change, having dumped 1998 nominee Robert Figueroa for businessman Tom Santos. Either way, cowboy Congressman Richard Pombo hogties the competition.

DISTRICT 12 (53%D - 24%R - 19%DS)

Lantos (D)*	**93,046**	**100**	**74**
Evans (R)	7,573	28	6
Garza (R)	**12,628**	**47**	**10**
Williams (R)	6,875	25	6
Less (L)	**3,722**	**100**	**3**
Young (NL)	**1,620**	**100**	**1**

At 72, Tom Lantos, a Nazi labor camp survivor now in his 20th year in Congress, just keeps going and going and going....

DISTRICT 13 (54%D - 25%R - 17%DS)

Stark (D)*	**72,642**	**100**	**69**
Duffy (R)	7,235	26	7
Goetz (R)	**20,900**	**74**	**20**
Grundmann (AI)	**1,290**	**100**	**1**
Mora (L)	**2,279**	**100**	**2**
Hoehner (NL)	**1,338**	**100**	**1**

There's also no end in sight for the indefatigable Pete Stark, who first joined the House during the Nixon presidency in 1972. After 14 terms, Stark says he still has some "unfin-

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ished business" in the areas of universal health care and licensing of child day-care providers.

DISTRICT 14 (47%D - 32%R - 17%DS)			
Eshoo (D)*	**101,710**	**100**	**71**
DeLue (R)	10,766	29	8
Manzler (R)	10,583	28	7
Quraishi (R)	**16,281**	**43**	**11**
Dehn (L)	**2,927**	**100**	**2**
Black (NL)	**1,978**	**100**	**1**

Anna Eshoo, who seeks a fifth term representing this mid-Peninsula district, will have copious time to focus on cyber crimes and women's privacy rights — issues that have garnered her lots of positive publicity of late.

DISTRICT 15 (44%D - 35%R - 16%DS)			
Honda (D)	**57,682**	**67**	**40**
Lane (D)	3,599	4	2
Parker (D)	3,361	4	2
Peacock (D)	20,443	24	14
Vlakancic (D)	1,325	2	1
Cunneen (R)	**48,020**	**86**	**33**
Mead (R)	7,866	14	5
Wimmers (L)	**2,327**	**100**	**2**
Gorney (NL)	**1,228**	**100**	**1**

Honda

Cunneen

Politics, power and boatloads of cash have turned an uneventful race among Democrats into a rough-and-tumble campaign worth noting. At stake is nothing less than control of the U.S. House. Democrats need six seats to gain majority, and the spot that Congressman Tom Campbell (R-Campbell) gave up to run for U.S. Senate against incumbent Dianne Feinstein figures prominently in the equation. In the end, Assemblyman Mike Honda not only survived fellow Democrat Bill Peacock's deep pockets and his slew of negative ads, but also finished 7 percentage points ahead of Republican candidate Jim Cunneen in the open primary. Peacock, a venture capitalist and former Carter administration official, plunked more than $1 million of his own cash into the primary. Touting himself as the independent candidate, he used a series of glossy brochures and pricey (about $260,000 worth) prime-time television spots on cable and local channels to raise his profile and name identification with voters. He was supported by San Jose Mayor Ron Gonzalez, Santa Clara County Supervisor Jim Beall and the California Council of Police and Sheriffs. Honda, backed by labor leaders and the Democratic establishment, countered with television ads of his own and targeted some voters to receive a 30-second recorded telephone message from President Bill Clinton urging support of Honda. Other Democratic contenders – Bill Lane, a San Jose State professor, and Robin Parker, former mayor of Sunnyvale — had considerably less financial resources but nonetheless waged spirited campaigns. Lane ran last-minute TV ads that assailed his opponents as "carpetbaggers" since none lived in the district when they started their campaigns. Only businessman Connor Vlakancic seemed to avoid actively campaigning. The race quickly turned ugly in the final weeks with Peacock sending out a slew of negative mailers aimed at Honda, who he portrayed as a career politician, a special interest candidate and a rubber-stamp legislator. But Peacock garnered criticism of his own, characterized as trying to buy the election in the mold of former deep-pocket candidates Al Checchi and Michael Huffington. Honda, on the other hand, tried to keep his campaign largely positive, focusing on his background as a World War II internee and a Peace Corps volunteer and emphasizing his 20-plus years of public service as a teacher, school board member, Santa Clara County supervisor and state Assemblyman. Honda was endorsed by labor groups such as the California Federation of Teachers and the California Labor Federation, as well as various Silicon Valley community and business leaders. Honda, who was personally recruited to run by President Clinton, won handily despite being outspent at least 3-to-1. But he faces a tougher battle this fall against GOP Assemblyman Cunneen. A moderate anointed by Republican party leaders as Campbell's heir apparent, Cunneen quickly disposed of architect Dale Mead, his primary challenger. He then had the luxury of sitting back and watching Democrats rip into one another. No doubt Cunneen's political strategists have amassed some ammo from the messy, acrimonious Democratic race to use in the fall election. Stand by for Round Two.

DISTRICT 16 (51%D - 27%R - 18%DS)			
Lofgren (D)*	**67,286**	**100**	**72**
Thayn (R)	**21,856**	**100**	**23**
Umphress (L)	**2,695**	**100**	**3**
Klein (NL)	**1,629**	**100**	**2**

Four-term incumbent Zoe Lofgren has directed much of her energy to high-tech issues, ensuring she gets another free ride.

DISTRICT 17 51%D - 29%R - 14%DS)			
Farr (D)*	**74,400**	**82**	**57**
Dunn (D)	2,079	2	2
Grossman (D)	7,307	8	6
Whitmore (D)	6,855	8	5
Dooley (R)	5,787	16	5
Engler (R)	**19,056**	**54**	**15**
Roberts (R)	10,357	29	8
Coffin (G)	**2,512**	**100**	**2**
Garrett (L)	**1,498**	**100**	**1**
Hartley (NL)	**586**	**100**	**0**
Fenton (RF)	**1,013**	**100**	**0**

Some observers suggest the four-way primary that incumbent Sam Farr found himself unexpectedly facing may be a wake-up call. Though Farr made mincemeat of his three Democratic challengers, he may have suffered some beauty points along the way. Democrats to the left of Farr ran in protest over his support of NAFTA and the WTO. Santa Cruz social worker Joe Grossman, in particular, called Farr to task over a lack of support for striking local Teamsters. The California Labor Federation weighed in by withholding their endorsement of the three-term congressman until he met with workers to help resolve the strike. Despite the fracas, Farr's popularity in this coastal district held strong and he'll face off against Republican Clint

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Engler, a builder from Salinas, in November. Engler is the most conservative of the three Republicans who vied for a chance to challenge Farr. Still, planning on cutting into Farr's edge is more than a bit like tilting at windmills.

DISTRICT 18 (49%D - 36%R - 10%DS)

Condit (D)*	69,579	93	65
McAfee (D)	5,496	7	5
Wilson (R)	30,612	100	29
Riskin (NL)	1,110	100	1

Whew. Luckily for "Blue Dog" Congressman Gary Condit, the general election is seven months away — plenty of time to rest up from his grueling primary challenge before taking on Republican Steve Wilson.

DISTRICT 19 (40%D - 46%R - 10%DS)

Hernandez (D)	13,888	32	10
Rosenberg (D)	30,020	68	21
Radanovich (R)*	96,191	100	66
Kaiser (AI)	1,010	100	0
Taylor (L)	2,898	100	2
Miller (NL)	1,082	100	1

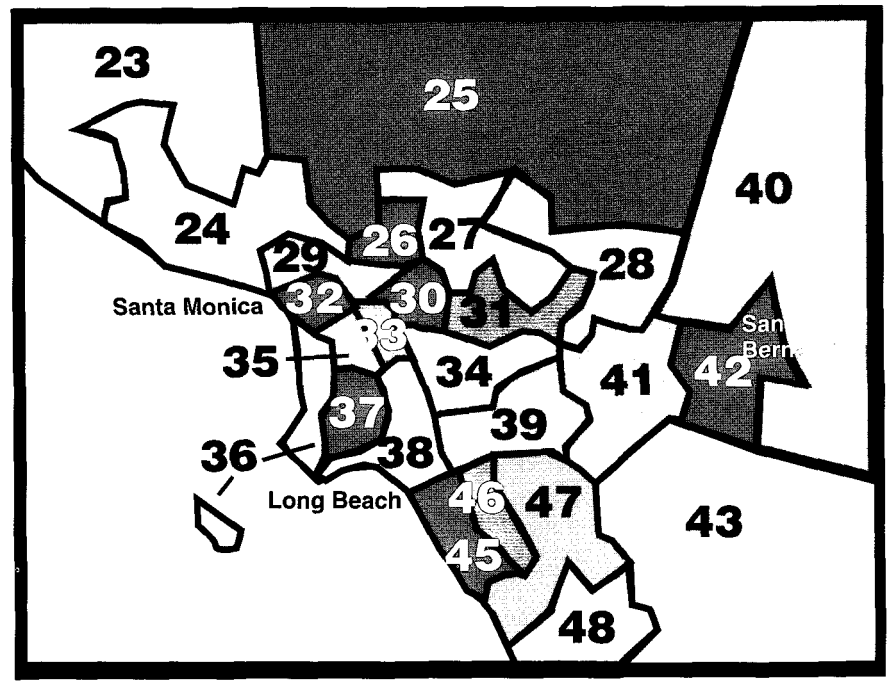
Enjoy the primary victory, Dan Rosenberg. November will not be so rosy.

DISTRICT 20 (52%D - 34%R - 10%DS)

Dooley (D)*	36,861	100	52
Rodriguez (R)	32,134	100	45
Kriegbaum (L)	1,007	100	2
Ruehlig (NL)	865	100	1

This Central Valley seat is filled with conservative voters and farmer Cal Dooley has had little trouble holding onto it for 10 years. Still, Republicans have ached for a serious shot at Dooley, and in TV anchorman Rich Rodriguez, they may have found their man for the job. Rodriguez used to host the No. 1 local news broadcast for Fresno, so name ID is not a problem. He is untested on the campaign trail, but his head-to-head showing in a quiet primary wasn't too shabby. Dooley polled seven points higher than Rodriguez overall, but in the district's largest section, Fresno, Dooley only ran 2.3 percent higher. Rodriguez, meanwhile, bested Dooley by five points in Kings County and ran even with him in Tulare County. The key for Dooley was Kern County, where he polled two-to-one over Rodriguez. If Rodriguez can narrow the gap in Kern, November may be interesting.

Los Angeles Area



DISTRICT 21 (36%D - 49%R - 11%DS)

Martinez (D)	27,563	100	22
Thomas (R)*	91,233	100	74
Manion (L)	5,007	100	4

Congressman Bill Thomas won't win any popularity contests among his California GOP brethren after pushing a reapportionment initiative that included a pay cut for Sacramento lawmakers as a carrot to voters; the plan qualified for the ballot but was then chucked by the state Supreme Court for violating the state's single-subject rule. Thomas is popular with the locals, however, which is what really counts.

DISTRICT 22 (40%D - 40%R - 14%DS)

Capps(D)*	91,271	100	55
Stoker(R)	63,033	90	38
Rowe(R)	7,413	11	5
Furcinite(L)	1,283	100	0
Aguirre(NL)	1,107	100	0
Porter(RF)	1,166	100	0

Mike Stoker, former Santa Barbara County supervisor, easily sidelined fellow Republican Allen Rowe. That was the easy part. Now he gets to

Capps

Stoker

tussle with incumbent Lois Capps in an evenly split district both parties dearly want. It won't exactly be a clone of the contest between Capps and former Paso Robles Assemblyman Tom Bordonaro, whom Capps beat *three* times to win her late husband's seat. This time, the two candidates are on the same side of the fence when it comes to the hot-button abortion issue – both support court-approved rights. In snaring a healthy vote total in the primary, Capps actually captured a good many Republican votes, suggesting that her base is secure. But that won't prevent this from becoming a million-dollar race if party heavyweights swing their money bags around. If it stays fairly close, this will be one of those races whose outcome is affected by the presidential contest insofar as it energizes one party over the other.

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DISTRICT 23 (40%D - 40%R - 14%DS)

Case (D)	**32,180**	**80**	**25**
Goldberg (D)	7,915	20	6
Gallegly (R)*	**81,469**	**100**	**63**
Peebles (L)	**2,721**	**100**	**2**
Hospodar (NL)	**1,143**	**100**	**1**
Savitch (RF)	**3,811**	**100**	**3**

Lawyer Michael Case pumped up his campaign with $62,000 in loans to himself and spent some of it to boost his name ID. But incumbent Elton Gallegly came out of the primary with almost three times as many votes and more than six times as much cash on hand.

DISTRICT 24 (45%D - 37%R - 14%DS)

Sherman (D)*	**88,814**	**100**	**66**
Doyle (R)	**39,029**	**100**	**29**
Ros (L)	**4,520**	**100**	**3**
Cuddehe (NL)	**1,704**	**100**	**1**

Two years ago, high-tech CEO Randy Hoffman spent over $200,000 in the primary of what wound up a $1 million loss to San Fernando Valley incumbent Brad Sherman in the general. This year, Sherman's GOP foe, actor Jerry Doyle, reported spending zero in the primary. Zip. Nada.

DISTRICT 25 (38%D - 45%R - 13%DS)

Gold (D)	**35,192**	**100**	**28**
McKeon (R)*	**80,874**	**92**	**63**
Meyers (R)	6,885	8	5
Acker (L)	**3,643**	**100**	**3**
Small (NL)	**1,676**	**100**	**1**

Taking on four-term incumbent Buck McKeon in his suburban L.A. County district is like taking on the Grapevine with a bad radiator.

DISTRICT 26 (59%D - 22%R - 14%DS)

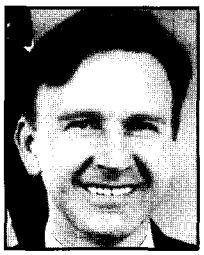
Berman (D)*	**55,185**	**100**	**85**
Farley (L)	**7,385**	**100**	**11**
Cossak (NL)	**2,631**	**100**	**4**

Libertarian Bill Farley and Natural Law candidate David Cossak each quadrupled their respective party's registration. Unfortunately, their combined vote was more than quintupled by incumbent Howard Berman.

DISTRICT 27 (44%D - 37%R - 14%DS)

Schiff (D)	**62,093**	**100**	**49**
Rogan (R)*	**59,429**	**100**	**47**
Brown (L)	**2,640**	**100**	**2**
Hospodar (NL)	**2,587**	**100**	**2**

Schiff


Rogan

Glendale GOP Representative James Rogan didn't need any help becoming the Democrats' top congressional target in 2000. But he got it anyway from a primary result that can only be described as disappointing for the incumbent. Rogan, who served as one of the House managers in the impeachment trial of President Bill Clinton, had already drawn a difficult rival in state Senator Adam Schiff (D-Burbank), who gave up his relatively safe seat to be his party's standard bearer. A year-long $2 million fund-raising campaign, in which Rogan identified himself as a target of vengeance-minded Clintonites, stocked up the incumbent's coffers. Early on, the incumbent began working through the money with cable television advertising that began in December. The TV was augmented by a full district mail program which, unlike his national campaign, made no mention of Clinton, but did say Rogan supported a patients' bill of rights, a claim which earned him a rebuke from seniors' groups. Schiff also spent some money rainmaking last year, but his 2000 expenditures were only about half of the $600,000 Rogan's campaign says it spent on direct voter contact. Rogan forces maintain they eased off the gas pedal in the last month, but still got seven mailers out to a broad voter universe that included independents and Democrats. The Schiff camp says it mailed to more select groups, and both made direct pitches to the district's large Armenian population. Rogan's campaign claims the results are a victory, since his vote total beat GOP registration by 10 points, while Schiff only polled five points higher than Democratic registration. But the cold reality of history is that Rogan bettered the Democrat by 22 points in the 1998 primary only to squeak through by four in the fall. Given the district's demographics, the Democrats' history of running efficient, coordinated campaigns in the district and the bull's-eye already painted on his back, Rogan will be more dependent than most on a fully engaged national ticket, something presidential arithmetic already guarantees Schiff. With both campaigns loading up multi-million-dollar budgets, the primary, while active, was only a warm-up for the full-scale war coming this fall.

DISTRICT 28 (41%D - 41%R - 14%DS)

Nelson (D)	**43,403**	**100**	**34**
Dreier (R)*	**78,834**	**100**	**62**
Haytas (AI)	**1,611**	**100**	**1**
Weissbuch (L)	**2,124**	**100**	**2**
Allison (NL)	**1,258**	**100**	**1**

Powerful GOP incumbent David Dreier spent most of his spring fanning out with other congressional Republicans to convince the media that George W. Bush wasn't road kill. Successfully, as it turned out.

DISTRICT 29 (55%D - 24%R - 16%DS)

Waxman (D)*	**101,483**	**100**	**77**
Scileppi (R)	**24,215**	**100**	**18**
Anderson (L)	**4,854**	**100**	**4**
Currivan (NL)	**1,915**	**100**	**1**

Henry Waxman will only leave Congress if he's reapportioned into David Dreier's district.

DISTRICT 30 (62%D - 18%R - 15%DS)

Becerra (D)*	**47,565**	**100**	**84**
Goss (R)	**6,159**	**100**	**11**
Heath (L)	**1,711**	**100**	**3**
Hearne (NL)	**1,564**	**100**	**3**

Four-term incumbent Xavier Becerra enlivened his primary season by announcing his candidacy for mayor of Los Angeles. The proclamation puts him in direct competition with outgoing Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa and prompted a host of back-channel efforts to get one or the other of them to drop out. The publicity bump Becerra gets from his candidacy won't make much of a difference in his re-election campaign, which is a lead-pipe cinch.

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DISTRICT 31 (57%D - 23%R - 16%DS)

Martinez (D)*	20,079	31	29
Solis (D)	**44,085**	**69**	**63**
Lieberg-Wong (G)	**2,796**	**100**	**4**
McGuire (L)	**2,050**	**100**	**3**
Griffin (NL)	**1,495**	**100**	**2**

Martinez

Solis

All you need to know about how San Gabriel Valley residents really felt about 18-year incumbent Matthew "Marty" Martinez is this: His sister endorsed his opponent. That opponent, state Senator Hilda Solis, delivered to Martinez one of the soundest primary thrashings ever administered to an incumbent congressman in California. Solis, serving the last two years of her term in the Senate, took up the challenge to Martinez with the backing of an array of her Sacramento colleagues and U.S. Representative Loretta Sanchez. Her endorsement list eventually grew to include not only Martinez' sister Helen Lujan, but also U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer, EMILY's List and the state Democratic Party. Even Martinez' longtime political patrons, Representatives Howard Berman and Henry Waxman, took a pass on endorsing their one-time protege'. But Solis' most powerful ally was undoubtably the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor. Despite Martinez' 95 percent career rating from the AFL-CIO, L.A. County Fed went in heavily for Solis, raising more than $100,000 and mobilizing hundreds of union volunteers. In the end, Solis spent more than $300,000 on the race, most of it on mail touting her record on labor and district issues, and pointing up Martinez' reputation as an absentee congressman. The incumbent did enjoy his share of support, from area members Lucille Roybal-Allard and Grace Napolitano and from the Association of Federal State County and Municipal Employees. But he was able to scrape together barely a third of what Solis had budgeted, and his response to the challenge consisted largely of dismissive characterizations of the challenger, whom he said was simply job-shopping to avoid the impact of legislative term limits. In truth, Martinez's campaign was what you'd expect from someone cut loose after two decades on the political dole — ineffective. It was almost as if he knew it was coming, like an incompetent employee steeling himself for the inevitable pink slip. Still, Solis' victory is more than just a case of district voters scratching a long-troublesome itch. It also offers a road map for other termed-out lawmakers who find themselves blocked by weak congressional incumbents. The kindling for Solis' campaign was clearly her ability to mine the labor support born of her active backing of their issues. Others with similar Sacramento bona fides may be similarly emboldened, though few will be lucky enough to draw as easy a mark as Martinez.

DISTRICT 32 (72%D - 12%R - 11%DS)

Dixon (D)*	**77,108**	**93**	**79**
Smith (D)	5,767	7	6
Williamson (R)	**11,734**	**100**	**12**
Weber (L)	**1,873**	**100**	**2**
Jibri (NL)	**1,504**	**100**	**1**

The job description of challenger Elisha "Smitty" Smith is listed as "labor consultant." Lacking a track record akin to that of Solis, though, Smith wasn't able to draw much backing for a run at veteran Julian Dixon.

DISTRICT 33 (67%D - 14%R - 13%DS)

Allard (D)*	**34,752**	**100**	**85**
Miller (R)	**4,868**	**100**	**12**
Craddock (L)	**731**	**100**	**2**
Harpur (NL)	**582**	**100**	**1**

Lucille Roybal-Allard is one of the safest incumbents in Washington, D.C., despite a district with one of the lowest participation rates in the state.

DISTRICT 34 (60%D - 24%R - 12%DS)

Napolitano (D)*	**63,117**	**100**	**70**
Canales (R)	**22,122**	**100**	**24**
Simon (NL)	**5,617**	**100**	**6**

Two years ago, first-termer Grace Napolitano was neck-deep in a bitter Democratic primary. This year, she's just another safe Democratic incumbent.

DISTRICT 35 (74%D - 10%R - 9%DS)

Waters (D)*	**59,269**	**100**	**86**
McGill (R)	**8,004**	**100**	**12**
Mego (AI)	**1,139**	**100**	**2**
Dunstan (NL)	**789**	**100**	**1**

The ever-energetic Maxine Waters had fewer competitive district races to keep her occupied in her role as king (or queen) maker. She'll have it even easier in the fall.

DISTRICT 36 (41%D - 39%R - 15%DS)

Cavuto (D)	5,914	9	4
Harman (D)	**56,323**	**87**	**41**
Rastegar (D)	2,281	4	2
Kuykendall (R)*	**58,396**	**84**	**42**
Pegram (R)	11,408	16	8
Sherman (L)	**2,426**	**100**	**2**
Ornati (NL)	**782**	**100**	**0**
Konopka (RF)	**961**	**100**	**1**

Harman

Kuykendall

Two years after her difficult (and expensive) loss in the 1998 gubernatorial primary, former Democratic U.S. Representative Jane Harman was coaxed back into public life to try to retake her seat from freshman incumbent Steve Kuykendall. The primary results in this South Bay swing district suggest that Harman still has plenty of name identification, but may have some work yet to do before she can coast back to Washington. In the primary, both candidates faced nominal challenges in their respective parties. James Cavuto, the publisher of an area technology magazine, had some local Democratic clubs backing him and enough personal money to run a nominal campaign, but he couldn't muster much enthusiasm once Harman made her 11th-hour entry into the race. Perennial candidate Robert Pegram made an only slightly

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tougher foe for Kuykendall, picking at him for being too liberal. Harman won her three terms here in the 1990s at great expense and usually by very narrow margins. But Kuykendall has never set any records for victory margins himself, and the two can expect ample assistance from their respective parties. Democrats view this seat as one of four in California that can help them reclaim a majority in the U.S. House. But the primary results suggest the district would still rather vote Republican, all other things being equal.

DISTRICT 37 (72%D - 12%R - 11%DS)

McDonald (D)*	**54,220**	**100**	**82**
Van (R)	**7,248**	**100**	**11**
Peters (L)	**2,073**	**100**	**3**
Glazer (NL)	**2,539**	**100**	**4**

Two-term incumbent Juanita Millender-McDonald spent a fair chunk of time this spring trying to help elect her son, Keith, to the Assembly. He's not going to Sacramento, but she's going back to Washington, D.C.

DISTRICT 38 (51%D - 31%R - 13%DS)

Graham (D)	6,635	13	6
Gruwell (D)	14,646	29	14
Mathews (D)	12,723	26	12
Schipske (D)	**15,807**	**32**	**15**
Horn (R)*	**52,669**	**100**	**50**
Neglia (L)	**1,610**	**100**	**2**
Wilkinson (NL)	**1,253**	**100**	**1**

With Democrats enjoying a 20-point registration edge in this Long Beach-centered district, you might think a four-way Democratic primary would be a major event. But the eventual winner — registered nurse Gerrie Schipske — had spent barely $25,000 by mid-February. Perennial challenger Peter Mathews, a professor at California State University, Long Beach, attacked Schipske for her outside financial support. Schipske, meanwhile, spent most of her attention on Erin Gruwell, a teacher who seeded her campaign with $25,000 and raised another $75,000. Ultimately, Schipske won because of name recognition gained from her near-miss 1996 challenge to then-Assemblyman Steve Kuykendall and the negative vibes emanating from Mathews. Things get tougher from here for Schipske, however. Incumbent Steve Horn is so well liked, even partisan Democrats melt at the mention of his name. He's also sitting on about $300,000 for the fall campaign. Schipske will try mightily to convince the national Democrats to target the race, and with Horn pulling only half the total vote, she might have a case. But the California dance card is already pretty full with four competitive primaries. Schipske was considered the most liberal of the four Democrats, and given Horn's history of pulling away in the general, she'll have some work convincing the national party to add a fifth race.

DISTRICT 39 (38% D - 45% R - 13% DS)

Kanel (D)	**32,555**	**100**	**27**
Royce (R)*	**81,499**	**100**	**67**
Gann (L)	**3,278**	**100**	**3**
Jevning (NL)	**3,511**	**100**	**3**

The Ed Royce Democrat Disposal Co. will be making another pickup this fall, this time scooping up Gail Kanel.

DISTRICT 40 (37% D - 46% R - 12% DS)

Lewis (R)*	**80328**	**100**	**84**
Lindberg (L)	**7,642**	**100**	**8**
Schmit (NL)	**8,160**	**100**	**9**

The real tough contest in this district was the Democratic primary where Harvey the Rabbit narrowly defeated the Invisible Man. The Cheshire Cat faded to third. Incumbent Jerry Lewis, on the other hand, is poised to win his 12th term.

DISTRICT 41 (39% D - 43% R - 14% DS)

Favila (D)	**30,301**	**100**	**32**
Ma (R)	6,353	10	7
Miller (R)*	**55,234**	**90**	**65**
Kramer (NL)	**3,302**	**100**	**3**

One-term incumbent Gary Miller had himself a nice little primary. Even a challenge from within his own party didn't stop him from running 20 points ahead of district GOP registration. November cake-walk coming.

DISTRICT 42 (51% D - 34% R - 10% DS)

Baca (D)*	**46,790**	**100**	**56**
Kim (R)	6,751	20	8
Pirozzi (R)	**26,194**	**80**	**31**
Ballard (L)	**1,958**	**100**	**2**
Hartley (NL)	**1,754**	**100**	**2**

This promises to be the quietest fall campaign in recent memory in this corner of the Inland Empire. In previous years, the late George Brown Jr. topped the Democratic ballot, and most national Republican hit lists, as well. But Brown died last year and was succeeded by Democratic state Senator Joe Baca, who is much more moderate. The primary beauty contest marks Baca's second strong showing against GOP businessman Elia Pirozzi, who also lost the November 1999 special election to replace Brown. Republicans now likely will walk away from any meaningful challenge to Baca, who has been winning elections in this region for a decade and seems to be settling in for a long congressional career. If the primary itself generated any interest, it came in the form of Pirozzi's Republican challenger – former Congressman Jay Kim, who was driven from office two years ago after being convicted of campaign law violations and spending some time under house arrest. Back then, Kim represented the neighboring 41st District, where Republican Gary Miller dispatched him in the 1999 GOP primary. Kim was trying a comeback of sorts as an act of redemption, but voters in San Bernardino County weren't much in the redeeming mood.

DISTRICT 43 (36% D - 48% R - 11% DS)

Calvert (R)*	**66,654**	**67**	**58**
Collen (R)	28,624	29	25
Jafri (R)	4,021	4	4
Reed (L)	**8,815**	**100**	**8**
Adam (NL)	**6,401**	**100**	**6**

The conservative challenge to Ken Calvert failed to generate much heat in Riverside County, leaving pro-life physician Martin Collen some 40,000 votes short of unseating the four-term GOP incumbent. With no Democrat within shouting distance of the ballot, Calvert can relax for the rest of the year.

DISTRICT 44 (40% D - 45% R - 10% DS)

Harney (D)	12,247	27	10
Gordon (D)	9,115	20	7
Wofford (D)	5,654	12	4
Oden (D)	**18,409**	**41**	**14**
Bono (R)*	**71,934**	**89**	**56**
Mathewson (R)	8,982	11	7

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Meuer (NL)	**700**	**100**	**1**
Smith (RF)	**1,500**	**100**	**1**

Incumbent Mary Bono attracted quite a crowd to the primary, including perennial Republican challenger Bud Mathewson. The results, however, were a virtual mirror of her primary two years ago where she also captured 56 percent of the overall vote en route to a convincing victory in November. Bono is seeking her second full term after succeeding her late husband, Sonny, who died in a 1998 skiing accident. This fall, she faces Ron Oden, who parlayed his role as a Palm Springs councilman into the Democratic nomination, virtually ignoring his party competitors. The primary highlight, however, was provided by another Democrat, Doug Wofford, who coaxed an endorsement out of Sonny Bono's mother – Jean – long a critic of her daughter-in-law's career. Meanwhile, Mathewson solidified his reputation as the Harold Stassen of California congressional politics by competing in his 14th congressional primary. The 77-year-old Banning businessman is 0-for-14, however.

DISTRICT 45 (32% D - 49% R - 14% DS)

Crisell (D)	**33,713**	**100**	**26**
Pham (R)	9,215	11	7
Rohrabacher (R)*	**78,142**	**90**	**61**
Hull (L)	**4,419**	**100**	**3**
Betton (NL)	**1,983**	**100**	**2**

Well, it's almost time for Representative Dana Rohrabacher to wax up his surfboard — his November opponent, Ted Crisell, couldn't even beat registration in this GOP stronghold.

DISTRICT 46 (46% D - 36% R - 14% DS)

Sanchez (D)*	**34,046**	**100**	**57**
Garber (R)	8,368	37	14
Tuchman (R)	**14,316**	**63**	**24**
Boddie (L)	**1,588**	**100**	**3**
Engwall (NL)	**1,255**	**100**	**2**

Incumbent Representative Loretta Sanchez logged a larger-than-expected victory over Tustin teacher Gloria Matta Tuchman, but that doesn't mean the November race is over. And though she couldn't beat

Sanchez

Tuchman

GOP registration here and can't match the $1.3 million the incumbent had raised by mid-February, Tuchman did thump the ultraconservative Howard Garber for the nomination. She will have no easy task in convincing minority voters to deny Sanchez a third term in Congress.

DISTRICT 47 (29% D - 53% R - 14% DS)

Graham (D)	**15,446**	**34**	**9**
Irvine (D)	13,612	30	8
Keysor (D)	8,286	19	5
Mafi (D)	7,585	17	5
Cox (R)*	**111,751**	**100**	**69**
Nolan (L)	**3,921**	**100**	**2**
Adam (NL)	**2,041**	**100**	**1**

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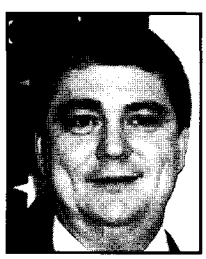
professor John Graham can be thankful that his primary victory followed a real contest. The same won't be said in November when he goes up against incumbent Christopher Cox.

DISTRICT 48 (27% D - 53% R - 15% DS)

Maguire (D)	11,838	39	7
Kouvelis (D)	**18,267**	**61**	**11**
Morrow (R)	38,503	30	23
DeBow (R)	1,703	1	1
Luke (R)	2,598	2	2
Dornan (R)	8,195	7	5
Issa (R)	**58,000**	**46**	**35**
Mayerhofer (R)	666	1	0
Mahan (R)	1,362	1	1
Snyder (R)	7,414	6	5
Udall (R)	4,491	4	3
Griffith (R)	4,635	4	3
Cobb (L)	**2,179**	**100**	**1**
Miles (NL)	**2,390**	**100**	**1**
Rose (RF)	**2,818**	**100**	**2**

Issa


Morrow

Businessman Darrell Issa finally will have a job in Washington, D.C. Two years after he unsuccessfully sought the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate, the Vista car-alarm magnate used $1.5 million from his substantial personal fortune to buy himself a seat in the House of Representatives. In the process, he swept aside nine other Republican contenders, including state Senator Bill Morrow and Mark Dornan, son of former Congressman Bob Dornan. Only Morrow, however, provided much of a challenge, and he fell nearly 20,000 votes short of the nomination. The seat opened up last year when longtime Republican incumbent Ron Packard announced that he would not seek a 10th term in Congress. As a result, voters in this San Diego-Orange-Riverside county district were treated to the electoral version of Spite and Malice between the two candidates with resources enough to make it a race – Issa and Morrow. Although Morrow was able to raise in excess of nearly $300,000, his purse was dwarfed by the size of Issa's million-dollar wallet – an advantage Issa used to saturate the region with television ads and direct mail. Both sides went heavily negative, with Issa calling Morrow a liar and Morrow referring to Issa's campaign as an "egomaniacal crusade to buy higher office." None of the GOP candidates varied much on the issues, so the contest came down to money, money, and much more money. In that arena, it was no contest. The Democratic nominee is Peter Kouvelis, a Dana Point Marine, who has about as much chance in November as "Rugrats in Paris" has of winning the Academy Award for best picture.

DISTRICT 49 (39% D - 37% R - 17% DS)

Davis (D)	**63,066**	**100**	**46**
Bilbray (R)*	**69,217**	**100**	**51**
Ball (L)	**3,153**	**100**	**2**
Bhatti (NL)	**1,543**	**100**	**1**

Not a great primary day for three-term incumbent Brian Bilbray, whose vote totals were less than impressive in what amounted to a dress rehearsal against Democrat Susan Davis, a state legislator termed out after three terms in the Assembly. Although Bilbray "won" the beauty contest, outpolling Davis by some 6,000 votes, that result must be measured against the fact that this election probably featured more Republican than Democratic voters. In addition, the San Diego mayoral race featured several heavy-hitting Republicans, which also helped jack up GOP turnout. Bilbray's relative weakness also is revealed in the contrast with his re-election campaign two years ago, when the primary also served as a dry run for the general election. In 1998 Bilbray went head-to-head with Democrat Christine Kehoe, a San Diego councilwoman. He finished some 13,000 votes ahead of Kehoe in the '98 primary and looked relatively safe for the fall. But Kehoe made up 9 points between June and November, coming within 2 percentage points of unseating Bilbray in the final contest. This time out, although bolstered by higher GOP turnout, the margin over Davis is less than half of what it was over Kehoe in the 1998 primary. Kehoe finished that race with 47 percent of the vote; Davis begins the campaign with 46 percent. Finally, Bilbray spent $150,000 on a two-week television buy that ran before the primary and also launched two pieces of direct-mail. Davis did neither but relied on phone-banking and precinct-walking, saving her $500,000 treasury for November. Expect this to be a very expensive race. Democrats nationally are within a handful of seats of regaining control over the House of Representatives and, as a result, plan to pour big money and resources against every Republican incumbent they perceive to be vulnerable. Based on his primary performance, Bilbray falls clearly within the crosshairs.

DISTRICT 50 (49% D - 30% R - 14% DS)

Filner (D)*	**54,815**	**100**	**68**
Sorongon (R)	4,746	20	6
Good (R)	2,662	11	3
Divine (R)	**16,154**	**69**	**20**
Willoughby (L)	**1,725**	**100**	**2**
Kendall (NL)	**1.037**	**100**	**1**

Longtime Republican activist Bob Divine earned a smashing victory in the primary, gaining nearly 70 percent of the vote for GOP candidates. Unfortunately, that equated to only 20 percent of the overall vote cast in the district. Game, set, match to four-term incumbent Democrat Bob Filner.

DISTRICT 51 (30% D - 48% R - 17% DS)

Barraza (D)	**44,098**	**100**	**27**
Cunningham (R)*	**109,195**	**100**	**67**
Muhe (L)	**4,470**	**100**	**3**
Bourdette (NL)	**4,336**	**100**	**3**

Another yawner for GOP incumbent Duke Cunningham, the former Navy Top Gun first elected to Congress in 1990.

DISTRICT 52 (37% D - 43% R - 14% DS)

Barkacs (D)	**32,855**	**100**	**25**
Hunter (R)*	**91,673**	**100**	**71**
Benoit (L)	**3,925**	**100**	**3**
Sherman (NL)	**1,310**	**100**	**1**

No upsets in the making here in this desert district, allowing Republican Duncan Hunter to begin his third decade in the House.

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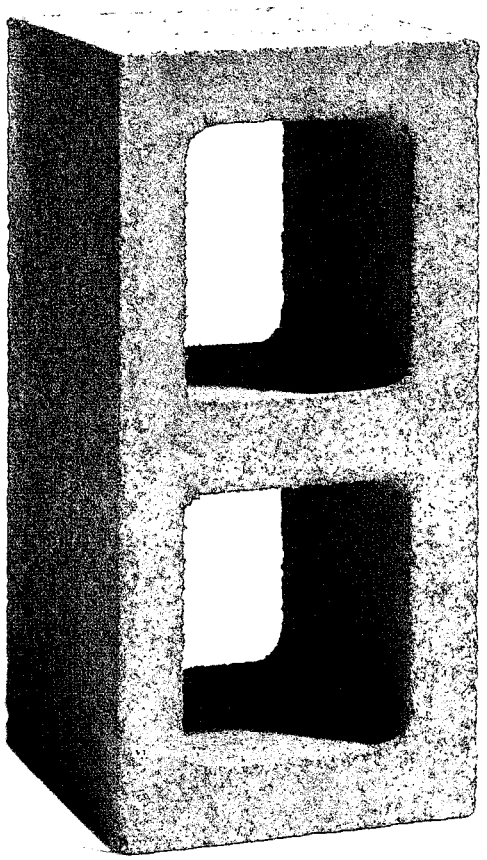

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There's nothing like a good debate

by Susan Rasky

The hearts of political reformers must have leapt at Vice President Al Gore's proposal that he and Texas Governor George W. Bush scrap their TV ads and simply debate each other twice a week.

There's no chance the 30- and 60-second spots will disappear, and there's no chance that the Veep and the Gov will be doing a bi-weekly *mano a mano* between now and November.

But implicit in Gore's challenge to Bush is an assumption, probably correct, about how much the public and especially the media like the *idea* of candidate debates, presidential ones in particular. It's all bound up in some fanciful notion that debating will elevate political discourse, improve voter participation and tell us something about the candidates' capacity to govern.

And while there is not a scintilla of academic research to support any of that, there's a very good chance that Gore and Bush, in the effort to woo Senator John McCain's now orphaned supporters, will look to debate each other more frequently than would otherwise be the case.

Is that an awful thing? No. Maybe the debates will be entertaining. But probably not, which is why reformers and the media handwringers should be careful what they wish for and then foist on the rest of us.

Consider the primary season just concluded. Between October 22, 1999, and March 2 of this year, there were 22 televised candidate forums/debates in eight states.

But according to the Nielsen estimates on ratings, most of these tedious exercises in civic enlightenment drew under two million viewers, some considerably less than that.

Over roughly the same pre-primary period, advertising expenditures by the major primary contenders almost certainly set a new record.

Obviously, the opportunity for free media exposure doesn't stop campaigns from spending big bucks trying to reach voters with ads in which the candidate's message and image can be controlled. Face it, with the splendid exception of the encounter between Gore and former New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley at Harlem's Apollo Theater, the debates were stupefying.

The real problem, according to Paul Taylor, a veteran *Washington Post* political reporter who now directs the Alliance for Better Campaigns, is that the broadcast networks, whose newscasts still draw a combined 30 million viewers on a typical night, have essentially abandoned the presidential campaign and politics in general to cable television.

Only two of those 22 pre-primary debates — one on ABC's "Nightline" and one on NBC's Sunday talk show, "Meet The Press" — were carried by national broadcasters, neither in prime time, Taylor says. He's right, but maybe that's not such a bad thing.

In place of the grudging four or five minutes of over-produced and generally shallow presidential coverage the network newscasts dish up has come a bountiful feast of politics on cable. For those who like it straight, there is C-SPAN. For those who like instant news and generally informed commentary, there is CNN, and for those who like a little spice and raunch there is MSNBC and the Fox News Channel.

Forget the newscasts. Lobby Leno, Letterman, Oprah and Rosie to keep putting the candidates on shows real people watch in settings far more revealing than those wretched debates....

More than three-quarters of the nation's households are cable subscribers, and lest anyone assume that lower income Americans make up the one-fourth that doesn't subscribe, think again. The Internet may be economic class sensitive; cable, even at an average cost of $40 a month, is not.

More politically savvy and certainly less self-righteous than the typical campaign reformer, Taylor seems to get all that. But he's still stuck on trying to make TV stations pledge five minutes a night of "candidate centered coverage."

Here's a better idea. Forget the newscasts. Lobby Leno, Letterman, Oprah and Rosie to keep putting the candidates on shows real people watch in settings far more revealing than those wretched debates and candidate forums.

What made the Apollo Theater debate magic were two smart, ambitious politicians shamelessly pandering to a tough audience that knew and loved the fact it was being pandered to. If we could just remind ourselves presidential politics is that, and not the dreary civics lesson reformers want to make it, the viewing public might just sit back, tune in and have a good time figuring out who to vote for.

Contributing editor Susan Rasky teaches journalism at the University of California, Berkeley. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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Once again, an LAPD scandal rules

by Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

The race for Los Angeles County district attorney was all but ignored in the cacophony surrounding the state's most exciting presidential primary in years. But mayoral wannabes lining up for the 2001 L.A. city election no doubt watched the non-partisan contest hunting for clues to the impact of the roiling Rampart controversy on the race to succeed Richard Riordan.

"Rampart" is shorthand for the largest police corruption scandal in the city's history. Anti-gang cop Rafael Perez, arrested in 1998 for stealing cocaine from LAPD facilities, traded details of police abuse for a reduced sentence. The scandal grew out of his allegations that officers working out of the LAPD's Rampart Division — an area west of downtown L.A. with a large immigrant population — committed perjury, planted evidence, and engaged in unjustified shootings and beatings.

Incumbent D.A. Gil Garcetti, running for a third term as L.A. County's top prosecutor, drew fire from challengers Barry Groveman, an environmental attorney, and Chief Deputy D.A. Steve Cooley for dragging his feet on the unfolding corruption probe. Cooley hit hard on Rampart, with an absentee-ballot mailer that attacked Garcetti for failing to uncover scores of tainted prosecutions linked to Rampart's anti-gang unit.

Incumbent D.A. Gil Garcetti drew fire from challengers for dragging his feet on the unfolding corruption probe.

Although relatively unknown, Cooley and Groveman amassed a combined 62.5 percent of the primary vote against Garcetti. Cooley — who has been demoted after backing a Garcetti challenger in the 1996 election, came in first, about 6,000 votes ahead of the incumbent. Now Cooley and Garcetti will duke it out on the November ballot.

Several factors helped push Garcetti toward a runoff. A three-way primary and a high turnout of Republicans and conservatives aided Cooley, a GOP prosecutor who had campaigned for Governor George Deukmejian. A larger turnout could help Democrat Garcetti in the general election.

Advised he couldn't avoid a runoff, Garcetti virtually ignored the primary, opting to hoard his $1 million war chest for the fall campaign. That meant his opponents' charges went largely unanswered.

Mayoral candidates have begun carefully — and often quietly — to stake out their stance on Rampart. City Councilman Joel Wachs has supported LAPD over the years, but he has broken with Riordan and the LAPD leadership, who oppose giving an outside agency the authority to investigate LAPD; Wachs supports an independent probe of the department.

Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa (D-Los Angeles) has been particularly outspoken in his support for an outside investigative panel armed with subpoena power. He has called for the federal government to expand its examination of the matter and take the criminal probe out of LAPD's hands.

And the *L.A. Times* reported that Congressman Xavier Becerra (D-Los Angeles) "is leaning on U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno to step up the Justice Department's long-dormant "pattern-and-practice" investigation of the LAPD. That approach could give Justice "broad authority to sue Los Angeles and even take over parts of its police force."

Not surprisingly, City Commissioner Steve Soboroff, the mayor's friend and endorsed successor, staunchly supports Riordan's internal approach to investigating Rampart, but adds he might turn to an outside agency if the police commission stumbles.

City Attorney James Hahn may have more at stake in Rampart's outcome than any other mayoral contender. A special unit in his office oversees the city's defense against citizens' claims that cops' malfeasance violated their civil rights. Hahn will be judged on how his office handles the scores of civil prosecutions and monetary settlements sure to arise from the Rampart investigation.

Will Rampart be Garcetti's undoing? Will the police scandal infuse the mayor's race?

Appearing in court for sentencing, Perez, the former cop who opened the Pandora's box which has become Rampart, observed, "The City of Los Angeles had and has a right, among other things, to a fair and just system of policing."

To reassert that right will be a challenge for the next mayor. The ability to lead the city toward that goal will be a benchmark by which L.A. voters will judge, first, the current county district attorney, and then the candidates fighting to head their city.

Contributing editor Sherry Bebitch Jeffe teaches at the Claremont Graduate University. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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State Senate

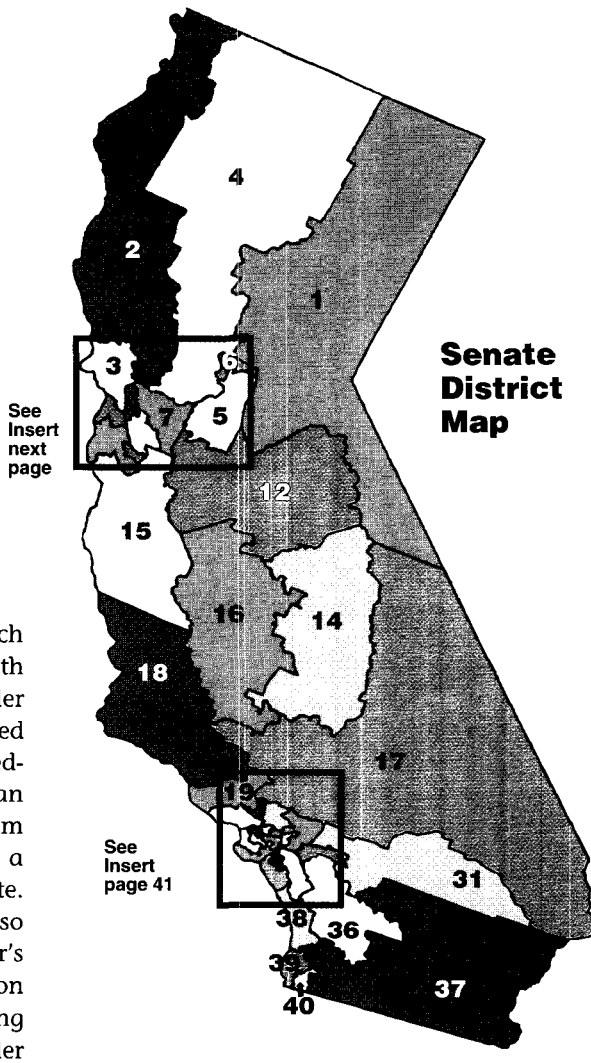
KEY

Parties
D = Democrat
R = Republican
AI = American Independent
G = Green
L = Libertarian
NL = Natural Law
PF = Peace & Freedom
RF = Reform
* = incumbent

Winners of each party's primary are listed in boldface. Some vote totals may change due to absentee ballots that remained uncounted as of press time. Readers will note three columns of numbers next to each candidate's name. The first column is that candidate's raw vote total. The second column is the percentage of the vote that candidate received compared with other candidates of the same party. The third column reflects a candidate's percent of the overall vote. In both cases, percentage numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number and, as a result, some district totals may add up to slightly more or less than 100 percent.

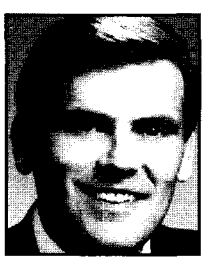
Voter registration numbers were provided by the Secretary of State's Office as of January 2000.

Vote totals are as of March 9, 2000. For the latest totals see the Secretary of State's Web page, www.ss.ca.gov/vote 2000.



DISTRICT 1 (36%D - 45%R - 13%DS)

Callaway (D)	22,224	26	8
Gruendl (D)	19,829	24	7
Romero (D)	**42,211**	**50**	**16**
Andrews (R)	11,741	7	4
R.K. "Skip" Daum (R)	13,331	7	5
Knecht (R)	29,838	17	11
Oller(R)	**123,597**	**69**	**46**
Petersen (L)	**5,559**	**100**	**2**


Oller

Daum

Assemblyman Rico Oller once again proved that money, combined with name ID, is still the best insurance policy in winning a political race. His foremost Republican primary challenger, lobbyist R.K. "Skip" Daum, however, proved just the opposite — that, for an unknown, money is no guarantee a Capitol address can be bought. Try as he might to discredit Oller's character and paint his conservative stripes as out of step with the district, Daum's negative TV ads with their violent and sinister edginess went too far for voters' comfort level. The heavy-hitting TV ads, one of which graphically depicted bear hunting with pack dogs while implying that Oller was a wild game poacher, backfired on the veteran lobbyist. Despite seeding his campaign with more than $300,000 in personal funds, Daum came in third place and captured a measly 7 percent of the party vote. During the campaign, Daum also poked at what he thought were Oller's other vulnerabilities — flip-flops on banning MTBE and Indian gambling — but nothing seemed to stick. Oller just kept racking up the endorsements from law enforcement groups, local officials and the Republican establishment. The two-term assemblyman also had no trouble acquiring cash, loaning himself some $300,000 on two separate occasions and topping that off with another $900,000, mostly from PAC and business contributors. Early on, Daum was thought to be Oller's closest competitor after stepping into the void left by the death of conservative Assemblyman Bernie Richter and hiring Richter's seasoned campaign manager. But it turned out that Daum lacked the grass-roots support that helped propel a third competitor, fellow Republican Karen Knecht, the much lesser-financed Nevada County supervisor, into second place, earning more than twice the votes of Daum. In the end, Oller handily carried all 13 counties in the sprawling district, most notably nailing down votes in the growing foothill communities in El Dorado and Placer counties that overlap with his fourth district Assembly seat. When the fall election rolls around, Oller won't have nearly the fight on his hands with Democrat Thomas Romero, a school teacher from Loomis, in this lopsidedly Republican district.

DISTRICT 3 (55%D - 19%R - 19%DS)

Burton (D)*	**142,203**	**100**	**72**
Faulkner (R)	**45,887**	**100**	**23**
Joki (NL)	10,754	100	5

The mighty John Burton won't

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find any obstacles to his re- election. But the powerful Democratic Senate President pro Tempore will be busily funding other Senate races — from Contra Costa to Los Angeles and San Diego counties — to ensure his party maintains its majority.

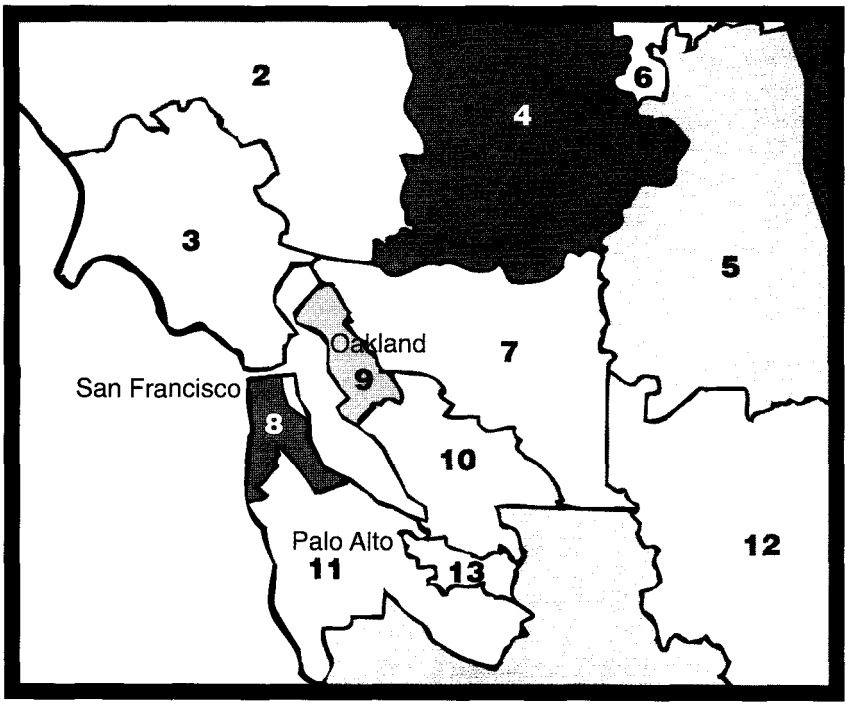
DISTRICT 5 (44%D - 42%R - 9%DS)

Machado (D)	**100,983**	**100**	**51**
Nakanishi (R)	**64,333**	**71**	**32**
Shoemaker (R)	26,934	30	14
Brow (L)	**5,374**	**100**	**3**
Nicolas (NL)	**1,204**	**100**	**1**

Machado

Nakanishi

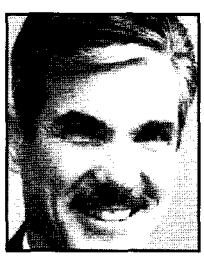
San Francisco Bay Area



An eerie sense of *deja vu* surfaced in the Republican primary this time around, thanks again to Democrats. In 1996, Republicans wanted to take on Democratic state Senator Patrick Johnston with anointed candidate George Osborn, who was expected to win the GOP primary against right-wing conservative Kurt Boese. But those plans were derailed when Johnston fiddled in the Republican primary by dropping two last-minute hit pieces on Osborn, who wound up losing to Boese. Subsequently, Boese went on to lose big to Johnston in the general election. Switch now to March 2000. Senate Republican leaders decided to go with Lodi Councilman Alan Nakanishi for this year's fall campaign, which won't feature incumbent Johnston because of term limits. Nakanishi faced only token opposition from Republican businessman James Shoemaker's grass-roots effort. But that didn't stop the Democratic nominee, Assemblyman Michael Machado, from taking a page out of Johnston's playbook. The weekend before the primary, two hit pieces showed up in district mailboxes against "No-show Nakanishi," citing the Republican's failure to vote in several past elections. This time, however, the Democratic shenanigan was unsuccessful in knocking off the Republicans' chosen candidate. Some Democrats say the goal wasn't really to knock off Nakanishi, which seemed unlikely given Shoemaker's low-key campaign, but to soften him up with voters for the November election. But no matter how tenderized Nakanishi might be coming out of March, Republicans feel the conservative physician is a good challenger against Machado. The San Joaquin County Democrat's showing in the primary was solid, but not overwhelming. Given the eroding Democratic registration throughout the district, that's no surprise. Machado, a farmer, has strong connections in agriculture and among business people and will not lack for money. But he must familiarize himself with voters in the Sacramento County portion of the district, which includes the suburbs of Rancho Cordova and Carmichael and the newly incorporated city of Elk Grove. The fall battle will likely be the biggest open-seat match in the state Senate this year.

DISTRICT 7 (44%D - 38%R - 12%DS)

Torlakson (D)	**113,667**	**100**	**48**
Rainey (R)*	**110,371**	**93**	**46**
Chilimidos (R)	8,474	7	4
Billings (NL)	**5,854**	**100**	**2**


Torlakson

Rainey

Incumbent Richard Rainey, a former Contra Costa County sheriff seeking his second term, smoked conservative Republican challenger Daryl Chilimidos, a Lafayette law clerk. But that was the easy part. Now he faces a brutal match-up in November with Democrat Assemblyman Tom Torlakson, in one of the state's most scorching legislative contests. And the race is tight. Polls indicate that the vast majority of voters (80 percent) in this suburban Contra Costa County district have already made up their minds, splitting evenly along partisan lines. In the past, district voters have

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been willing to elect members of either party. Republican Rainey has held the seat for four years but his predecessor was Democrat Dan Boatwright, who had a 16-year lock on the seat. Rainey and Torlakson are expected to spar on issues such as schools, guns, safety, sprawl and traffic congestion in an effort to woo undecided voters. Already Torlakson has sent out mailers with a scary-looking firearm attacking Rainey's record on gun control. In the primary, Rainey's ads and brochures focused on his background as sheriff and his efforts to pass education and anti-crime bills. Torlakson was heavily backed by labor unions — including the California Teachers Association, the carpenters' union and the California Federation of Teachers — which provided an arsenal of manpower and were among his biggest contributors. Rainey's largest contributors were the GOP Senate leadership and legislative colleagues such as senators Charles Poochigian of Fresno, who gave $25,000, and Tim Leslie of Tahoe City, who chipped in $15,000.

DISTRICT 9 (66%D - 12%R - 15%DS)

Perata (D)*	**134,784**	**100**	**82**
Marshall (R)	**20,763**	**100**	**13**
Eyer (L)	**8,721**	**100**	**5**

Don Perata will have more trouble this year convincing Governor Gray Davis to agree with his gambling and gun control proposals than he will ever have keeping this safe Democratic seat.

DISTRICT 11 (44%D - 35%R - 16%DS)

Sher (D)*	**112,331**	**100**	**57**
Hom (R)	**77,490**	**100**	**39**
Hickey (L)	**8,213**	**100**	**4**

There's both good news and bad news for veteran lawmaker Byron Sher. The bad news is the Stanford law professor won't be getting a free ride this fall. But the good news is that the competition won't be especially tough. Community college professor Gloria Hom grabbed some crossover votes, finishing slightly ahead of Republican voter registration. But she fell far behind in the electoral beauty contest, despite a large conservative voter turnout in the state and a cash infusion from state GOP leaders Jim Brulte and Ross Johnson, who each gave $50,000 to her cause.

DISTRICT 13 (51%D - 26%R - 18%Ds)

Vasconcellos (D)*	**85,952**	**100**	**69**
Longwell (R)	**32,744**	**100**	**26**
Watson (L)	2,853	45	2
Webster (L)	**3,514**	**55**	**3**

John Vasconcellos may not have scored points for denouncing as "stupid" and "inane" the governor's plan to give $1,000 college merit scholarships to students. But the longtime lawmaker scores big with voters, ensuring him a final third term.

DISTRICT 15 (49%D - 30%R - 15%DS)

Chavez (D)	**41,295**	**62**	**24**
Ognyanovich(D)	25,425	38	15
McPherson(R)	**95,517**	**100**	**56**
Sachtjen (L)	**3,320**	**100**	**2**
Rosenkranz (NL)	**3,883**	**100**	**2**

Four years ago, fur and funds were flying all over this district when Republican Bruce McPherson and Democrat Rusty Areias waged one of the nastiest and most expensive state Senate campaigns in California. This go-around, McPherson can gloat that the worst is already behind him, having scored 26 points ahead of GOP registration. Democrats ignored this race, leaving two underdog challengers to run at McPherson. Anselmo Chavez, a substitute teacher with two prior failed attempts at public office, will be the sacrificial lamb for November. Since this is not natural Republican territory, McPherson will leave nothing to chance. Watch for him to continue stoking his already sizable campaign coffers while maintaining a high profile in the district.

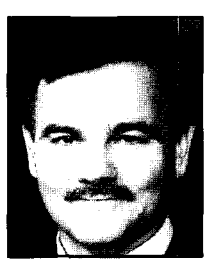
DISTRICT 19 (39%D - 42%R - 14%DS)

Gonzalez (D)	**51,039**	**100**	**30**
McClintock (R)	**87,771**	**75**	**52**
Mikels (R)	29,338	25	17

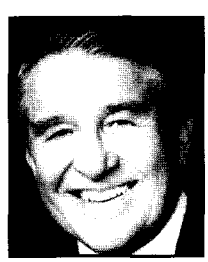
The battle in this conservative suburban district straddling Los Angeles and Ventura counties proved the point that, sometimes, publicity is more than simply a matter of getting your name spelled right. Anti-tax Assemblyman Tom McClintock had a wealth of name identification from his frequent, and often successful, campaigns in the district. But his reputation as an ideological warrior, rather than a district go-to guy, also made him enemies among moderates. Their choice, Ventura County Supervisor Judy Mikels, also had name recognition, but she had an albatross as well — a fiscal crisis in her home county, which comprised the bulk of the district. Although she put together an endorsement list that included Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan and outgoing Senator Cathie Wright (R-Simi Valley), Mikels couldn't shake the Ventura County problems. Her response — that she had been one of the voices of fiscal reason on the board of supervisors — didn't stick, since she didn't raise enough money to send out the mail necessary to make it stick. McClintock's campaign was uncharacteristically flush. That, coupled with his acquired name identification and Mikels' unfortunate ballot designation, provided the recipe for a blowout. Democrat Dan Gonzalez has been talked of as one to watch in the fall, given the region's changing demographics. The GOP registration hemorrhage appears to have leveled off, of late however, and his relatively modest vote total won't help his case that McClintock is an inviting target for the fall.

DISTRICT 21 (45%D - 36%R - 15%DS)

Scott (D)	**53,439**	**53**	**34**
Wildman (D)	46,848	47	30
Wallis (R)	9,048	17	6
Zee (R)	**44,961**	**83**	**29**
New (L)	**3,490**	**100**	**2**



Wildman



Scott

The line going in to this hugely competitive contest for the Glendale/Pasadena seat vacated by congressional hopeful Adam Schiff was that one candidate had the money, and the other candidate had the tenacity.

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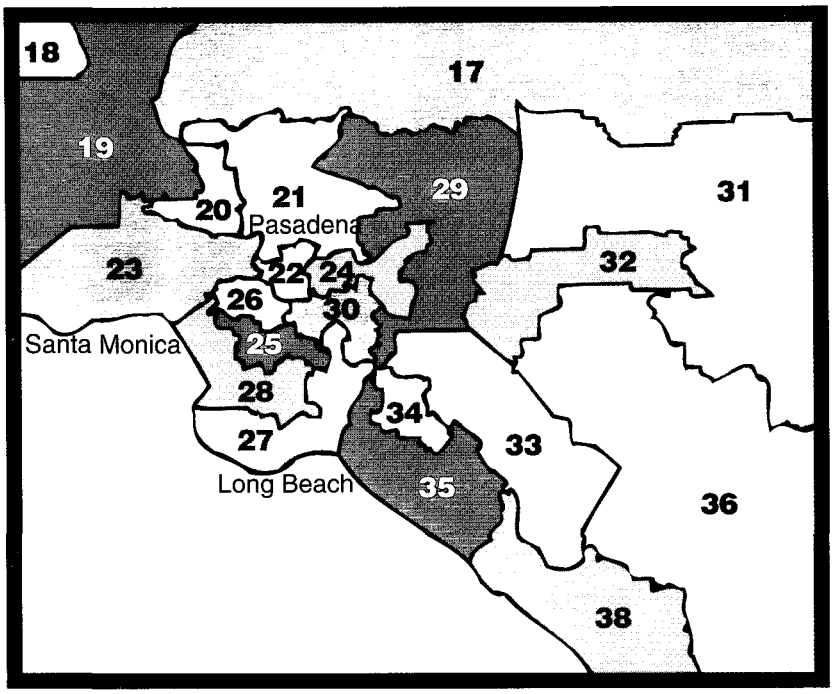
Los Angeles Area



In the end, money won, but tenacity didn't embarrass itself. The candidate with the cash flow was Assemblyman Jack Scott, who passed on easy re-election to his Pasadena-based Assembly district to run for Schiff's seat. By campaign's end, Scott racked up somewhere in the range of $1.2 million, with heavy support from business, law enforcement and the insurance industry. Scott's total was roughly twice that of his rival, fellow Assemblyman Scott Wildman, whose Glendale-centered 43rd Assembly District is right next door to Scott's 44th. Organized labor formed much of Wildman's support base, with the L.A. County Federation of Labor weighing in with money and manpower. Scott spent most of his time and energy touting his record on guns and his status as one of the more prolific bill machines in Sacramento. The contrast was meant to point up Wildman's reputation as someone who rubs people the wrong way in Sacramento. But Wildman had weapons as well, hitting Scott for his ties to the insurance industry. He also had an almost manic energy level as a campaigner, showing up everywhere, including at Scott's campaign events. With Wildman running as the candidate of the Democratic base and Scott running as the centrist, the outlines of the contest seemed pretty clear, but there were some wild cards which helped turn the contest. One was the $150,000 pumped into Scott's campaign by the California Correctional Peace Officers Association, and a separate PAC jointly underwritten by CPOA and California Indian tribes. Then there was the tasteful, Spanish-language spot touting Wildman's opposition to Proposition 187, financed by an independent expenditure from a group called called The Law Enforcement Alliance. Turns out the "Alliance" gets its money from the National Rifle Association, which has been the target of much of Scott's anti-gun legislative agenda (Scott's son was killed in a handgun accident). The NRA-backed effort hurt Wildman, even though he had nothing to do with it and has a voting record as reliably anti-gun as Scott's. With things going his way, Scott finished off by mounting an absentee and get-out-the-vote effort to counter the labor-backed program fielded by Wildman. The Republican tinge to the electorate also helped Scott: His half of the district had more voters than Wildman's and Scott pitched himself to crossover voters as the more moderate of the two. Scott will have little time to rest on his laurels, as he faces the prospect of a fully funded Republican candidate, South Pasadena Councilman Paul Zee. But Zee will have his work cut out for him. Two out of every three primary votes went to Democrats and though Wildman drew his share of crossover votes, his base is more likely to stay at home with the Democrat than Scott's might have been. And while Zee has shown some fund-raising strength on his own, he'll have to go a lot further to match Scott's demonstrated fund-raising muscle.

DISTRICT 23 (52%D - 28%R - 15%DS)

Knox (D)	53,045	36	29
Kuehl (D)	**92,298**	**64**	**51**
Rego (R)	**32,015**	**100**	**18**
Black (L)	**5,484**	**100**	**3**

While the battle of nested assembly members for the 21st Senate District lived up to its billing as a close

Kuehl

Knox

contest, this nesting war to fill the Westside seat of termed-out Senator Tom Hayden did not. It wasn't that the two weren't evenly matched — indeed, they may have been too evenly matched. Each raised and spent more than $1 million and each enjoyed high-profile, rainmaking endorsements: Kuehl from Governor Gray Davis; Knox from Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan. And it was extremely difficult to find much of an issue contrast between the two, as they had virtually identical voting records. When money, endorsements and issues are a wash, it then becomes a question of who is better known and who's better at getting their voters out. In both cases, the edge went decisively to Kuehl. Her initial district-wide mailer played off of her past as a child actress, notably her role as the love struck Zelda Gilroy on the classic "The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis" program. "Zelda

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Goes to Sacramento" was the ideal first shot, especially in a district which is home to its share of celebrities. Knox started out with an emphasis on his advocacy of wildly-popular legislation blocking ten-digit phone dialing in L.A. County. But he switched to attack mode, hitting Kuehl for an old education vote and suggesting she was weaker on gun control. There was also an effort by doctors in the district to mobilize around Knox's support of caps on medical malpractice insurance awards. Kuehl gave as good as she got, with a mailer hitting Knox on his record as a member of the Los Angeles Community College Board of Directors during a time of fiscal troubles for the district. Knox's authorship of legislation reinstituting the eight-hour workday figured to give him labor support, and he got it. But the bulk of labor's efforts went elsewhere, and Knox's bid to leverage his Riordan endorsement into a pitch for Republican crossovers proved a turnoff to the Democratic base. In the end, there were just more people who knew and liked Sheila Kuehl. Her election to the state Assembly in 1994 made her the first open lesbian to serve in that body. With her victory in November a virtual certainty, she will also become the first open lesbian to serve in the state Senate.

DISTRICT 25 (71%D - 13%R - 10%DS)

Floyd (D)	23,740	30	26
Vincent (D)	**55,764**	**70**	**60**
McClain (R)	**13,242**	**100**	**14**

Yet another battle of termed-out assembly members, though in this case only one is nested within the Senate district vacated by termed-out incumbent Teresa Hughes. Hungry for another institution to terrorize, cigar-chewing Democrat Dick Floyd moved into this Inglewood-centered urban district from an Assembly district nested in the adjacent 28th. His move put him on a collision course with fellow Assemblyman Ed Vincent, a former mayor of Inglewood who thought he'd cleared the field when fellow nestee, Assemblyman Carl Washington, opted out. Floyd gobbled up a passel of early endorsements from organized labor and jumped out to a fund-raising advantage in the early going. But the Legislative Black Caucus quickly closed ranks around Vincent, an important development in a district where African American political power still dominates. Vincent subsequently won the backing of Service Employees International Union, support which blunted the impact of Floyd's long list of labor endorsers, and his strength prompted the powerful County Federation of Labor to take a pass on the race. When the Latino Caucus weighed in on Vincent's behalf, Floyd had precious few places to look for votes in a district where he was basically considered an interloper, despite having represented it in a previous district alignment. Vincent's muscular primary win assures his transition to the Senate in one of the most heavily Democratic districts in the state.

DISTRICT 27 (47%D - 35%R - 13%DS)

Karnette (D)*	**85,755**	**100**	**57**
Lyon (R)	**64,337**	**100**	**43**

The head-to-head contest between incumbent Betty Karnette and Rancho Palos Verdes Councilwoman Marilyn Lyons lined up as a preview for the fall campaign, and the result was not encouraging for Lyons. Karnette shored up her support base during the primary by running cable television advertising. Lyon, the runner-up in the 1998 GOP primary for the Assembly seat held by Democrat Alan Lowenthal, also mounted a primary campaign and has been raising money for the race for more than a year. Registration numbers would seem to indicate that Karnette is vulnerable, but her margin over Lyon in the March test drive suggests the Republican will have to do some fast talking to convince party poo-bahs to invest heavily in the fall.

DISTRICT 29 (41%D - 41%R - 14%DS)

Herfert (D)	35,462	49	23
Melendez (D)	**37,278**	**51**	**24**
Margett (R)	**81,130**	**100**	**52**
Faegre (L)	**2,907**	**100**	**2**

Democrats have long contended that this northeastern San Gabriel Valley district is moving their way, and could be had once long-time incumbent Richard Mountjoy hit the term-limit wall. The primary result suggests it may not be entirely a case of wishful thinking. The Democratic primary proved unusually competitive, with two members of the West Covina City Council squaring off for the right to face GOP Assemblyman Bob Margett in the fall. Scientist Steve Herfert worked the Democratic base hard, gathering endorsements from the array of local Democratic clubs that dot most of Los Angeles County. Fellow Councilman Richard Melendez, a police officer who works with L.A. County's DARE program, pitched himself as a moderate crossover-pleaser with mail touting his law enforcement record and his resistance to new municipal taxes. Melendez enjoyed the backing of the Latino Caucus, and it proved critical to the finish, as they weighed in with a raft of late contributions that allowed Melendez to mail through the last two weeks. With the bump in GOP participation occasioned by the presidential contest and by Proposition 22, Margett's 52 percent of the total vote is unimpressive, even with a more interesting contest on the Democratic side. It is certainly low enough to prompt a second look at the contest by Senate Democratic leaders, and force the GOP to set aside a little of their booty to shore up Margett in the fall.

DISTRICT 31 (39%D - 45%R - 11%DS)

Rayburn (D)	**55,297**	**100**	**33**
Brulte (R)*	**104,198**	**100**	**63**
Ward (L)	**6,605**	**100**	**4**

Although Republican Senate Caucus Chairman Jim Brulte gathered an impressive number of votes in his ramp-up for November, he had mixed results when it came to backing candidates for other offices in his Inland Empire playground. He endorsed and helped fund former Beaumont Mayor Jan Leja in her effort to win the 65th Assembly District primary, and Leja rewarded him with victory. But his candidate in AD 61 – Pomona Mayor Eddie Cortez – finished third. None of this will matter in November, how-

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ever, when Brulte returns for his final term in the Legislature.

DISTRICT 32 (51%D – 32%R - 12%DS)

Soto (D)	**57,061**	**100**	**57**
Guzman (R)	**43,285**	**100**	**43**

Normally, an even-numbered district would not stand for election in 2000, but not much has been normal around this part of the Inland Empire lately — thanks to term limits and the death of the area's long-time congressman. Those events conspired to create an open Senate district and require a special election to fill the vacancy. The dominoes began to fall last year when Democrat George Brown Jr. died after a lengthy illness, creating a vacancy in the 42nd Congressional District. A special election to fill Brown's seat was won by Democrat Joe Baca, who at the time held this Senate district. Baca's move to Washington, D.C., meant yet another special election, this time to replace him in the Senate. That election in mid-January passed virtually unnoticed, as only 14 percent of registered voters bothered to go to the polls. And because no candidate received 50 percent of the vote, a runoff was held in conjunction with the March primary. Democratic Assemblywoman Nell Soto was denied a clear victory in January because of the presence of a third candidate who spent no money but siphoned off enough votes to drop Soto just below 50 percent. Most of the Republican effort went into the January contest, which the GOP considered its best chance given the small turnout predicted for the special election. That race featured a plethora of negative mailers and plenty of animosity between the two principal contenders — Soto and Republican Rob Guzman. When Guzman's campaign fell short, the GOP basically abandoned any hope of capturing the district in a runoff. The March result became predictable — a convincing win for Soto, who will fill out the remainder of Baca's term then be eligible for two more. Soto's migration to the Senate poses a problem for her party, however, because she immediately gives up her 61st Assembly District seat, thus depriving Democrats of a vote in the lower house for the remainder of the 2000 legislative session. In addition, Democrats are in a dogfight to retain her Assembly seat come November — a district they likely would have held with Soto on the ballot.

DISTRICT 33 (29%D - 54%R - 13%DS)

Roberts (D)	**46,985**	**100**	**24**
Ackerman (R)	**133,470**	**100**	**69**
Chacon (L)	**7,830**	**100**	**4**
Verkamp (NL)	**4,127**	**100**	**2**

Trying to ascend to the upper chamber after being termed out of the Assembly, Dick Ackerman got a free ride from the party establishment in this safe GOP seat being vacated by Senator John Lewis. And now comes the easy part — a likely shelling of Democrat Jack Roberts in November.

DISTRICT 35 (30%D - 50%R - 14%DS)

Ray (D)	**55,267**	**100**	**30**
Johnson (R)*	**116,605**	**100**	**62**
Studier (L)	**6,917**	**100**	**4**
Katz (NL)	**8,389**	**100**	**4**

Senate Minority Leader Ross Johnson won't lose any sleep worrying about re-election against Democrat Steve Ray of Sunset Beach. Johnson raised gobs this election cycle, but being the generous caucus leader he is, gave nearly all of it away to more needy GOP candidates.

DISTRICT 37 (35%D - 45% R - 14%DS)

Sanders (D)	**47,181**	**100**	**27**
Battin (R)	**101,135**	**85**	**58**
Watton (R)	18,565	16	11
Tello (L)	**6,727**	**100**	**4**

There was some thought that Mark Watton, a director of the Otay Water Board, would give Assemblyman Jim Battin a tough go in the GOP primary to replace termed-out Senator Dave Kelley. But Battin put his abundant campaign treasury to good use, flicking Watton aside with a convincing 85 percent of the vote. Democrat Sedalia Sanders, a medical technician from El Centro, must somehow find a way to overcome the 54,000-vote deficit that appeared in the primary. Kelley, by the way, won the GOP primary in Battin's old 80th Assembly District and likely will win again in the fall. Thus, Kelley and Battin become the second pair of south-state Republicans to swap seats, following in the footsteps of Republicans Jim Brulte and Bill Leonard, who performed the same feat in 1996.

DISTRICT 39 (39%D - 38%R - 17%DS)

Alpert (D)*	**84,483**	**100**	**51**
Stirling (R)	**72,648**	**100**	**44**
Nichols (L)	**4,057**	**100**	**2**
Knoles (NL)	**4,188**	**100**	**3**

Alpert

Stirling

This fall, this slice of San Diego County will host two of the state's most hotly contested elections — the 49th Congressional District and 39th state Senate District. In the former, Democratic Assemblywoman Susan Davis goes head-to-head with incumbent Republican Brian Bilbray. In the Senate race, the incumbent is the Democrat, Dede Alpert. Her GOP challenger is Larry Stirling, a former legislator who recently resigned a judgeship in order to make this race. Alpert is a moderate Democrat who has made a career out of winning elections in districts where registration favored her GOP opponents. Before the primary, it was thought that Stirling had to make a strong showing to receive the full attention — and resources — of Senate Republicans come the fall. And while he gained a respectable share of the vote, the message is mixed. Stirling polled some 12,000 votes fewer than Alpert — well within striking distance for November. But his performance must be measured against the fact that Republican turnout was reportedly higher in this area, driven by the GOP presidential primary and the heated contest for mayor of San Diego, where the front-runners all were Republicans. Still, Senate Republicans have few targets of opportunity this season, and Stirling's primary performance should put his campaign high up on the priority list.

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Assembly

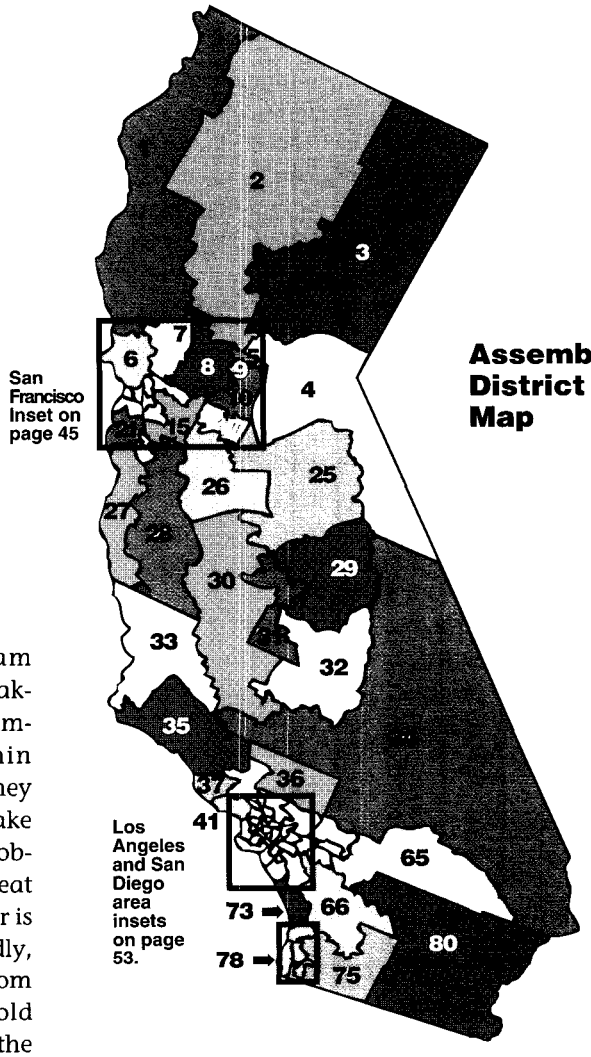
KEY

Parties
D = Democrat
R = Republican
AI = American Independent
G = Green
L = Libertarian
NL = Natural Law
PF = Peace & Freedom
RF = Reform
* = incumbent

Winners of each party's primary are listed in boldface. Some vote totals may change due to absentee ballots that remained uncounted as of press time. Readers will note three columns of numbers next to each candidate's name. The first column is that candidate's raw vote total. The second column is the percentage of the vote that candidate received compared with other candidates of the same party. The third column reflects a candidate's percent of the overall vote. In both cases, percentage numbers are rounded to the nearest whole number and, as a result, some district totals may add up to slightly more or less than 100 percent.

Voter registration numbers were provided by the Secretary of State's Office as of January 2000.

Vote totals are as of March 9, 2000. For the latest totals see the Secretary of State's Web page, www.ss.ca.gov/vote 2000.



DISTRICT 1 (48%D - 30%R - 14%DS)

Martin (D)	**74,976**	**100**	**65**
Lampson (R)	**35,995**	**100**	**31**
Gilleo (L)	**5,159**	**100**	**4**

With 65 percent of the popular vote, Virginia Strom-Martin's numbers are even stronger than two years ago when she aced Republican Sam Crump in this Northern California district. This November will likely be a repeat of the same slam-dunk with Mike Lampson.

DISTRICT 2 (38%D - 45%R - 11%DS)

Parks (D)	**28,639**	**100**	**25**
Dickerson (R)	**77,090**	**100**	**68**
Bret (L)	**3,960**	**100**	**4**
Thiessen (NL)	**3,731**	**100**	**3**

Two years ago, Republican incumbent Richard Dickerson shared the primary billing with fellow police officer, Art Brandwood. This time around, he had the whole stage to himself. Things probably won't be much different in the fall. This central stretch of northern California just keeps getting more Republican and Dickerson's showing in the primary indicates he has little to worry about.

DISTRICT 3 (37%D - 43%R - 13%DS)

Wirtschafter (D)	**33,474**	**100**	**30**
Aanestad (R)	**71,697**	**100**	**64**
Thomason (L)	**7,343**	**100**	**7**

Incumbent Republican Sam Aanestad fended off all comers, making it an easy go in this primary campaign. Democrat Benjamin Wirtschafter is counting on money and manpower from unions to make the difference between being an obscure candidate and a credible threat come fall. But in a year when labor is parting with money only guardedly, he'll need more than a push from unions to overcome the foothold Aanestad now has in this corner of the state.

DISTRICT 4 (35%D - 47%R - 13%DS)

Macola (D)	**47,335**	**100**	**31**
Leslie (R)	**104,019**	**100**	**69**

When termed out Republicans Rico Oller and Tim Leslie decided on a doe-see-doe to swap seats, it was supposed to be easy pickings for both. Oller had a battle royale on his hands from day one, but Leslie got to cruise as planned.

DISTRICT 5 (40%D - 43%R - 13%DS)

Cox (R)*	**80,859**	**100**	**79**
Frazier (L)	**21,318**	**100**	**21**

There are only 1,211 registered Libertarians in the 5th, which means Gene Frazier turboed beyond party registration by about 2000 percent. How's that for crossover appeal?

DISTRICT 6 (51%D - 28%R - 15%DS)

Adams (D)	5,542	6	5
Crane (D)	1,702	2	1
Egger (D)	13,482	15	11
Hayashino (D)	21,632	24	18
Heller (D)	11,327	12	9
Gibson (D)	4,941	5	4
Nation (D)	**24,421**	**27**	**20**
Nave (D)	8,587	9	7
Sullivan (R)	**26,087**	**100**	**22**
Olmstead (L)	**2,340**	**100**	**2**

Who could lose with a name like Joe Nation? Well, he didn't and he won't in November. Nation, a pro-business moderate, emerged the winner among the eight-person Democratic pack looking to replace termed-out Assemblywoman Kerry Mazzoni.

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Nation

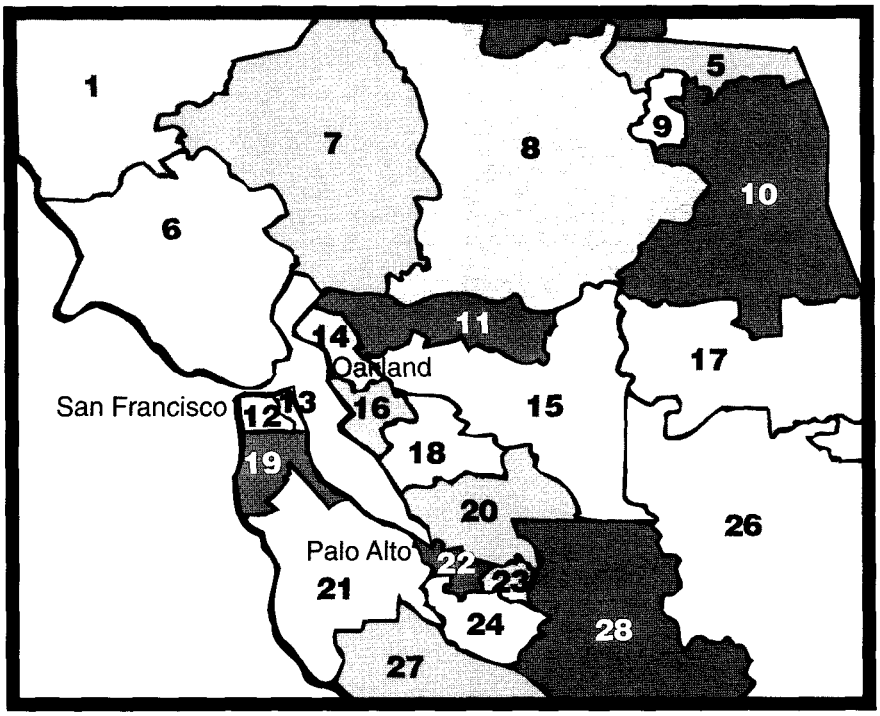
Certainly his politically friendly name didn't hurt. But neither did his unrelenting rain-or-shine ground campaign that had him knocking on more than 11,000 household doors. Nor his willingness to fund his own campaign ($60,000 from friends and family) and his ability to attract additional contributions, all of which pushed him over the $265,000 mark - surpassing all other candidates in the race. Nation's closest competitor, Marin County Human Rights Commissioner Carole Hayashino, had support from powerful Sacramento political allies, including the California Teachers Association and Native American tribes. But she could not overcome Nation's record in local government or local name ID. Nation, who lost a race for Congress in 1992 against then-Petaluma councilwoman Lynn Woolsey, has been a member of the Marin Municipal Water District board for eight years where he was given credit for helping turn around the once-troubled agency. Far behind were Fairfax Mayor Frank Egger, San Rafael City Councilwoman Barbara Heller and Marin boxer Paul Nave. Jack Gibson, who sits on the same water board as Nation, got the least bang for his buck, finishing almost last despite spending about $200,000. In the fall, Nation faces an opponent with an even more recognizable name: Republican Ed Sullivan. Sullivan, no relation to the late variety show host, has a household name any politician would envy but doesn't have a prayer in this Democratic-controlled district.

DISTRICT 7 (53%D - 29%R - 12%DS)

Wiggins (D)*	67,171	100	65
Rivera (R)	31,685	100	31
Schoeffler (L)	4,417	100	4

What a difference two years make. Patricia Wiggins faced two better-funded rivals in her first Democratic primary two years ago and survived. This time she drew no Democratic primary opponents and walloped rival GOP candidates in the open primary: Republican Pedro Rivera, a Fairfield businessman and Libertarian William Schoeffler, a business consultant.

San Francisco Bay Area



DISTRICT 8 (49%D - 32% - 15%DS)

Thomson (D)*	62,984	100	62
Munn (R)	34,781	100	35
Wilson (NL)	3,175	100	3

Republicans may glance at this seat as fall approaches — party registration isn't that great for Democrats and Thomson has been on the "wish" list before — but glance may be all they do, given Thomson's strong showing against Republican John Munn.

DISTRICT 9 (60%D - 22%R - 13%DS)

Steinberg (D)*	51,752	100	69
Hargrave (R)	18,386	100	25
Bergeron (G)	2,973	100	4
Saunders (NL)	1,798	100	2

All Republican Charles Hargrave needs is to get the Greens and Natural Law folks on his side, scrounge up another 28,000 votes, and he'll have Darrell Steinberg right where he wants him. No sweat.

DISTRICT 10 (43%D - 42%R - 11%DS)

Gravert (D)	46,540	100	39
Pescetti (R)*	67,692	100	57
Kohlhepp (L)	4,433	100	4

Because she missed taking this GOP seat by a couple hundred votes in 1998, Democratic Capitol staffer Debra Gravert wants another shot at Republican Assemblyman Anthony Pescetti. But whether she gets any help from the Democratic caucus remains to be seen, especially after coming in 18 points behind the incumbent in the primary. Fortunately for Gravert, her boss — Assemblyman Dick Floyd — lost his primary bid for state Senate. Last time, Floyd raised a lot of cash for his chief of staff, easing the burden on the caucus, and with no campaign of his own to worry about, Floyd just might do the same again. Pescetti, meanwhile, won't lack for Republican support, not with an overlapping Senate campaign (SD 5). Republicans want to take the 5th from the Democrats, and a strong showing by Pescetti in the 10th could help the GOP in the Senate race.

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DISTRICT 11 (53%D - 29%R - 11%DS)

Canciamilla (D)	**53,040**	**77**	**55**
Rosas (D)	**15,833**	**23**	**16**
Diaz (R)	**25,140**	**100**	**26**
Manske (L)	**3,333**	**100**	**3**

In the end, it wasn't even close. In the race to replace Assemblyman Tom Torlakson (D-Antioch), former Concord Mayor Lou Rosas took a 3-to-1 beating from Contra Costa County Supervisor Joe Canciamilla. This was no surprise, since Canciamilla was favored by legislative Democrats, had county-wide name ID and raised far more money than his opponent. But he didn't take his edge for granted. Canciamilla ran hard on a slow-growth, pro-education theme. In a nod to the district's blue-collar voters, Canciamilla even called himself "hard-working Joe" and sent out gardening gloves emblazoned with that slogan to his supporters. Rosas, on the other hand, focused his underdog campaign on such issues as strengthening public schools, providing more access to health care and maintaining a strong economy. But the money wasn't there to get his message out. In the fall, Canciamilla will be the heavy favorite in this solidly Democratic district.

DISTRICT 12 (57%D - 16%R - 23%DS)

Shelley (D)*	**57,990**	**100**	**80**
Epstein (R)	**14,486**	**100**	**20**

Nothing stands in the way of a final two-year term for Democratic Majority Leader Kevin Shelley, who already is busily cultivating contacts and building a political base for a potential state Senate or congressional campaign.

DISTRICT 13 (59%D - 12%R - 22%DS)

Migden (D)*	**64,680**	**100**	**79**
Lane (R)	**9,227**	**74**	**11**
Neira (R)	3,271	26	4
Starchild (L)	**5,239**	**100**	**6**

Carole Migden, chair of the powerful Assembly Appropriations Committee, is on something of a downward spiral. During the 1996 special election to fill ex-Assembly Speaker Willie Brown's seat, she scraped by with 100 percent of the votes. In 1998, she garnered a mere 85 percent. This year, it's 79 percent. What's going on here? What's going on is that despite the slippage, Migden probably could keep this seat for as long as she wants but term limits dictate this will be her third and final term.

DISTRICT 14 (67%D - 10%R - 14%DS)

Aroner (D)*	**77,451**	**100**	**83**
Udinsky (R)	**11,326**	**100**	**12**
Burton (L)	**5,063**	**100**	**5**

Aroner, one of the last true Berkeley liberals, is sure to complete her third and final term.

DISTRICT 15 (38%D - 44%R - 12%DS)

Rolen (D)	**46,048**	**100**	**35**
Leach (R)*	**87,308**	**100**	**66**

Conservative businesswoman Lynn Leach appears to have her toughest battles behind her. In 1996, she emerged victorious from a hard-fought first election. Two years later, she scored an easy win and should do so again this year against Democrat Greg Rolen, an attorney and political neophyte who relied on the generosity of Assembly Democrats to mount his campaign.

DISTRICT 16 (65%D - 14%R - 15%DS)

Chan (D)	**55,351**	**100**	**81**
McCormick (R)	**9,971**	**100**	**15**
Armstrong (L)	**3,488**	**100**	**5**

Chan

Words of warning for former Green Party legislator Audie Bock: Your opponent, Alameda County Supervisor Wilma Chan, has been running a muscular, well-financed campaign since last fall; her 81 percent of the total vote, by any measure, is a landslide; and your name didn't even appear on the primary ballot. By bolting the Green Party to run as an independent, Bock took some huge political risks. She may have ousted former Oakland Mayor Elihu Harris by a mere 327 votes in the 1999 special election but she's got a lot of work to do if she wants to repeat that feat. Her first task is to successfully gather the 5,700 signatures needed to gain a spot on the November ballot as an independent. Meanwhile, Chan has been busy walking precincts three days a week and earning headlines for her Proposition 10 advocacy for local children's programs, as well as her endorsements from Oakland Mayor Jerry Brown and the Reverend Jesse Jackson. Democrats, eager to erase the humiliation of losing this seat, are poised to dump money into Chan's race for November. The million-dollar question: Can Bock pull off another upset?

DISTRICT 17 (47%D - 42%R - 7%DS)

Matthews (D)	**18,500**	**47**	**24**
Montes (D)	13,018	33	17
Stebbins (D)	6,972	18	9
Weintz (D)	1,052	3	1
Aghazarian (R)	**15,548**	**42**	**20**
Benigno (R)	1,735	5	2
Machado (R)	9,797	26	13
Veldstra (R)	9,936	27	13
Busch (L)	**854**	**100**	**1**

Matthews

Aghazarian

With incumbent Michael Machado termed out and running for the Senate, a total of eight Democrats and Republicans lined up for their parties' nominations. On the Democratic side, the race was primarily between Tracy Councilwoman Barbara Matthews and San Joaquin County Deputy District Attorney Tom Montes. Matthews was the nominal frontrunner throughout the campaign, having gotten her operation into gear sooner than Montes. She also enjoyed the support of state Senator Patrick Johnston, whose seat overlaps the 17th. In addition to holding local office, Matthews has handled government relations for Albertsons, which gave her a strong fund-raising base among business groups. All told, Matthews was the top money person among all candidates in the primary, pulling in approximately $270,000. With the

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help of consultant Richie Ross, she blanketed the district with mailers focusing on education, health care and crime. Meanwhile, Montes proved to be a weak fundraiser, pulling in only $70,000 by mid-February. His saving grace was the Latino Caucus, which came in with $100,000 during the last two weeks of the primary. That money helped Montes send out a late attack on Matthews, accusing her of being beholden to Sacramento political interests instead of focusing on local concerns. But the hit pieces failed to knock Matthews down among voters, who gave her a 14-point victory over Montes. On the Republican side, it was even less of a race between Stockton businessman and school board member Greg Aghazarian and the rest of the field. A moderate-to-conservative Republican, Aghazarian won the support of many key business and GOP leaders, including Board of Equalization member Dean Andal. His family's tailoring business in Stockton was also a plus. Although his family is Armenian, Aghazarian's father was well connected with the local Greek community, which helped Greg win an endorsement—though not any megabuck contributions — from millionaire developer Alex Spanos. In total, Aghazarian's warchest reached $250,000, however $150,000 of it was in loans from himself and others. In fact, going into the last two weeks of the campaign, farmer Rick Veldstra narrowly raised more cash than Aghazarian, $105,000 to $100,000 — which was quite a feat for Veldstra, given that his money came in modest contributions from local citizens and not five-digit PAC checks. With that money, Veldstra managed to get on local radio and put up billboards to familiarize his name with voters. But the work was only good enough for a distant second-place finish behind Aghazarian. Veldstra barely took second in front of businessman Gerry Machado, who may have hoped to confuse voters familiar with Democrat Mike and slip past both of his opponents. Name ID was about all Machado had going for him as he raised the least amount of cash among the major Democratic and Republican candidates. He put out little mail and got up on cable TV only after someone donated the air time. The Republican primary was a clean one, with none of the candidates taking swipes at each other. Thus, Veldstra and Machado are likely to back Aghazarian for the fall campaign against Matthews. The district is increasingly going Republican—Democrats have lost nine points off their registration since 1992 while Republicans have gained 8 points—which will make it tough for Democrats to hold on to this seat, even with Matthews' reputation as a business-oriented moderate.

DISTRICT 18 (56%D - 25%R - 14%DS)

Corbett (D)*	**56,180**	**100**	**75**
Mahmood (R)	**19,102**	**100**	**25**

From the looks of it, rookie legislator Ellen Corbett has this election in the bag.

DISTRICT 19 (53%D - 27%R - 16%DS)

Papan (D)*	**56,584**	**100**	**71**
Kassel (R)	**18,101**	**100**	**23**
Lundry (L)	**2,678**	**100**	**3**
Six (RF)	**1,892**	**100**	**2**

Lou Papan, the former Assembly speaker pro tem nicknamed "Leadfoot Lou" for his numerous speeding tickets, cruises in the fast lane in his bid for a third and final term.

DISTRICT 20 (46%D - 30%R - 19%DS)

Dutra (D)*	**43,509**	**100**	**63**
King (R)	**22,131**	**100**	**32**
Werlwas (L)	**3,486**	**100**	**5**

In the battle of the Realtors, Fremont businessman John Dutra, a moderate Democrat, scored an impressive open primary win over fellow real estate agent Lowell King, a Republican. It should be a repeat in November. But there was never a real contest, anyway, in this Democrat-leaning East Bay seat formerly held by state Superintendent of Education Delaine Eastin.

DISTRICT 21 (47%D - 32%R - 16%DS)

Simitian (D)	**52,642**	**100**	**56**
Wilder (R)	**34,579**	**100**	**37**
Purcell (G)	**7,532**	**100**	**8**

Republican Deborah Wilder, a

Simitian

Wilder

labor law attorney, is claiming victory even though she ran 19 percentage points and more than 18,000 votes behind Santa Clara County Supervisor Joe Simitian, her Democratic opponent in the open primary. Wilder contends her showing is particularly impressive because she didn't do much advertising nor receive any GOP caucus money. That's impressive spin considering that in San Mateo County, where Wilder lives and works and where she ran for Congress and lost to Congressman Tom Lantos in 1994, Simitian still beat her by 13 points.

DISTRICT 22 (47%D - 30%R - 18%DS)

Alquist (D)	**49,336**	**100**	**66**
Kawczynski (R)	**26,014**	**100**	**35**

Another lopsided victory for Democrat Elaine Alquist, a former high school teacher and a one-time Republican who switched parties in 1994.

DISTRICT 23 (55%D - 22%R - 18%DS)

Buzo (D)	1,882	5	4
Diaz (D)	**19,767**	**50**	**41**
West (D)	18,115	46	37
Askeland (R)	**4,438**	**57**	**9**
Neighbors (R)	3,367	43	7
Albrecht (L)	**1,175**	**100**	**2**

The only race to watch in this Santa Clara-based district was the head-to-head contest between two rising, well-matched Democratic contenders vying to replace Assemblyman Mike Honda. Two-term San Jose City Council member Manny Diaz and former assistant U.S. attorney Tony West battled down to the wire. And the fight turned ugly at times. In mailers, West attacked Diaz's city council voting record on the environment, liquor licenses and card clubs. In fliers, Diaz accused West of being "a closet Republican." An unidentified group calling

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itself the California Voter Project even mailed attack pieces calling West a "carpetbagger" and accusing him of being a captive of special interests. Both moderate Democrats, Diaz and West campaigned on virtually the same issues: safer neighborhoods, affordable housing, school reform, traffic gridlock. The difference came in the form of endorsements. Diaz was backed by organized labor because he cast a crucial swing vote for a local living wage ordinance. West, backed by the San Jose Silicon Valley Chamber of Commerce, opposed the law in his 1998 race for city council. When push came to shove, labor unions came through for Diaz, rounding up dozens of volunteers for nightly phone banking and daily precinct walking. West had more money and the support of Attorney General Bill Lockyer, who even walked precincts for him. But in the end, Diaz prevailed. Barring a huge upset, Diaz earns a ticket to the Assembly this fall.

DISTRICT 24 (42%D - 38%R - 16%DS)

Cohn (D)	**34,401**	**77**	**37**
Glickman (D)	10,212	23	11
Blanton (R)	13,751	30	15
Courtright (R)	12,436	27	13
Jackson (R)	**19,498**	**43**	**21**
Strong (L)	**2,665**	**100**	**3**

Cohn

Jackson

The race to replace Assemblyman Jim Cunneen spawned two spirited Democratic and Republican primaries in this district contained entirely in Santa Clara County. Democrat Rebecca Cohn had the best showing, taking in 37 percent of the overall primary vote and trouncing self-funded Democratic opponent Steve Glickman by a more than 3-to-1 margin. Meanwhile, Republican Sue Jackson grabbed a 13-point lead over her nearest rival, Los Gatos Mayor Steve Blanton, in a three-way GOP contest, that was at times highly contentious. Santa Clara County Supervisor Don Gage revoked his endorsement of Jackson, citing untruthful negative attacks on Blanton, whom he also endorsed. Jackson released last-minute hits in the mail and on cable TV claiming Blanton was a real estate and development lobbyist — a sensitive issue in overcrowded Silicon Valley. Blanton works as government affairs director for the Silicon Valley Association of Realtors but is not associated with developers. Democrats enjoy a slight voter registration edge in this moderate swing district but a parade of Republicans have held the seat for years. But this year the race is wide open, as both parties continue to suffer defections from voters registering as independents. Neither Cohn, a business consultant, nor Jackson, a former nurse and current mayor of Monte Sereno, a small bedroom community, has very wide name recognition in the district, so both have their work cut out for them. Both are moderate, have backgrounds in health care and are backed by their party's leaders. This fall, expect another bruising contest between two well-matched competitors backed by their respective party leaders.

DISTRICT 25 (41%D - 44%R - 10%DS)

Rico (D)	**31,480**	**100**	**32**
Cogdill (R)	**42,487**	**65**	**43**
Deklinski (R)	15,800	24	16
Harrison (R)	6,951	11	7
Zwickel (L)	**1,858**	**100**	**2**

This one-time Democratic seat is now safely in Republican hands, following eight years of Democratic erosion in voter registration. Conservative Assemblyman George House has held it for the last six years, and with term limits forcing him out, another conservative appears set to take over. Former Modesto Councilman Dave Cogdill had a number of advantages in winning the GOP nomination, including endorsements from House and Assembly Minority Leader Scott Baugh. He also raised plenty of money — $225,000 by mid-February — which

Deklinski

Cogdill

scared away the one person who might have seriously challenged him for the GOP nomination: Councilman Bill Conrad. Former FBI agent Bob Deklinski came along late, filing his papers shortly before the deadline. With the backing of area Senator Dick Monteith and Congressman Richard Pombo, Deklinski put together a modest, under-funded challenge against Cogdill. With only $40,000 raised, Deklinski had a difficult time getting his conservative message out — a message that, philosophically, varied little from that of his opponent. Cogdill ran a strong campaign despite switching consultants just before the New Year from Russo Marsh + Rogers to Steve Pressen. The only trouble came late, when Cogdill — an opponent of gambling — publicly stated that he had not accepted any contributions from Indian gambling interests. However, his February disclosure statement clearly showed that he had received a $50,000 donation from the Native Americans and Peace Officers PAC, which was formed by the powerful prison guards union, the California Correctional Peace Officers Association, and three of the biggest gambling tribes in the state. Cogdill tried explaining the discrepancy by saying the contribution was CCPOA money, not Indian gambling money, based on the fact that the union had donated to him previously through a different account that did not include the Indians. The issue made the local paper, and Deklinski tried to take advantage of it by attacking Cogdill in radio commercials during the final week of the campaign. But Cogdill easily weathered the storm and walloped Deklinski at the polls, and will likely do the same to Democrat Stephen Rico come November.

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DISTRICT 26 (42%D - 34%R - 10%DS)

Cardoza (D)*	**44,762**	**100**	**67**
Sanchez (R)	**22,075**	**100**	**33**

Leader of the Moderate Pack, Assemblyman Dennis Cardoza, trounced his 1998 opponent, Patricia Hollingsworth by 30 points, and she was considered viable by Republicans. The same can't be said for Republican Marshall Sanchez.

DISTRICT 27 (39%D - 29%R - 15%DS)

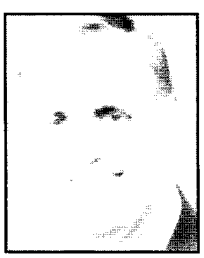
Keeley (D)	**61,264**	**100**	**63**
Carter (R)	**28,678**	**100**	**30**
Bonino (L)	**3,777**	**100**	**4**
De Joly (NL)	**3,524**	**100**	**4**

A Democrat can hardly go wrong here where land meets sea in the central part of the state. Despite some prodding by Democrats to go after the overlapping state Senate or congressional seat, incumbent Fred Keeley decided to stay put. Instead as the Assembly's Speaker pro Tempore, Keeley is busy proving his fund-raising prowess and spreading his bounty around to help other needier Democrats.

DISTRICT 28 (50%D - 32%R - 14%DTS)

Pizarro (D)	16,251	42	22
Salinas (D)	**22,517**	**58**	**30**
Denham (R)	**19,616**	**59**	**27**
Perry (R)	13,639	41	18
Ver (L)	**901**	**100**	**1**
Vogel (RF)	**1,254**	**100**	**2**

Salinas


Denham

Court businessman Jeff Denham, a Republican backed by the conservative Liberty Caucus, among the prime beneficiaries of the McCain backlash. Republican challenger Laura Perry never managed to fully capitalize on her Santa Clara County address and pro-choice stance that were expected to appeal to swing voters. When Denham hit her broadside with last-minute mailers inaccurately painting her in opposition to the anti-gay marriage Proposition 22, he managed to ding her in the two counties where she was expected to do best. An intense TV campaign over the last two weeks, coupled with a last minute dump of $25,000 from GOP political financier Howard Ahmanson, gave him the final steam to topple Perry. Married to an Hispanic and the employer of Latino workers, Denham was also able to make inroads into the Monterey County Latino voter block that Perry never managed to energize. Denham will face off against Democrat Simon Salinas, a two-term Monterey County Supervisor, who also has a corner on Latino voters. An extensive door-to-door campaign and endorsements from the seven largest newspapers got the tide rolling Salinas' way. But his biggest boost came from a hefty assist by labor. Besides a passel of checks from local trade unions, Salinas got a heavy dose of manpower when the Monterey Labor Council phone-banked and circulated flyers on his behalf. When Democratic challenger Sandra Pizzaro tried to exploit his biggest vulnerability — a DUI conviction four years earlier — in a mailer just days before the election, the Salinas camp shot back with a letter from local mayors to 35,000 households. Pizarro was never able to overcome her outsider image. Even though she grew up in Salinas and has strong family ties there, her years away working in the Capitol came through loud and clear with a preponderance of money from Latino politicians in Sacramento. She had hoped a special push by Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante would make the difference, but voters seemed to prefer a locally-tested politician to one from the capital.

DISTRICT 29 (39%D - 47%R - 10%DS)

Reid (D)	**24,263**	**100**	**25**
Briggs (R)*	**69,149**	**100**	**72**
Drioane (L)	**2,404**	**100**	**3**

Republican incumbent Mike Briggs won't win any "Legislator of the Year" awards from the United Farm Workers union — not after saying it would be wrong to honor Cesar Chavez's birthday as a state holiday because of the "damage" Chavez did to farms and the farm industry — but he will win re-election in this very Republican, ag-friendly seat.

DISTRICT 30 (49%D - 36%R - 10%DS)

Florez (D)*	**32,927**	**100**	**65**
Kay (R)	**17,902**	**100**	**35**

Given the head-to-head shellacking Republican Ken Kay took against incumbent Dean Florez in the primary, this contest doesn't look all that great for Republicans. But it's not off the table. Republicans did hold this seat before Florez knocked off Robert Prenter 1998, and Democratic registration has dropped eight points over the last eight years. If George W. Bush doesn't abandon California and GOP turnout is strong in November, Florez could have a battle on his hands, say Republicans.

DISTRICT 31 (55%D - 31%R - 10%DS)

Reyes (D)*	**29,964**	**100**	**67**
Cabral (R)	**14,862**	**100**	**33**

Before the primary, Republicans talked about this seat, too, as a possible go. Democratic registration has dropped from 63 percent in 1992 to the current 55 percent. Incumbent Sarah Reyes is a moderate in the mold of her predecessor, Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante, and political mentor, Congressman Cal Dooley. If Republicans make a serious run at Dooley's overlapping congressional seat with Latino TV anchorman Rich Rodriguez, things could get interesting for Reyes against Latino Republican Richard Cabral.

DISTRICT 32 (37%D - 49%R - 10%DS)

Gurrola (D)	**22,510**	**100**	**24**
Ashburn (R)*	**69,236**	**100**	**73**
Pinkerton (L)	**3,199**	**100**	**3**

Assemblyman Roy Ashburn raised $211,000 in 1999 and is on pace to raise another $100,000 this year — money he won't need to secure his re-election. But it will come in handy for doling out to other Republican candidates, whose first task upon reaching Sacramento will be to choose a new caucus leader.

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DISTRICT 33 (38%D - 44%R - 12%DS)

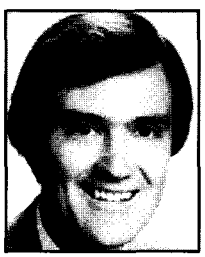
Houlgate (D)	**27,925**	**100**	**26**
Maldonado (R)	**78,006**	**100**	**74**

Incumbent Abel Maldonado outperformed his Democratic counterpart by better than 3-to-1. With numbers like that, he need spend little time worrying about the fall election.

DISTRICT 34 (36% D - 46% R - 13% DS)

Conaway (D)	**20,407**	**100**	**25**
Cox (R)	24,020	39	29
Wyman (R)	**38,311**	**62**	**46**

Cox


Wyman

Jim Cox's problem from the very beginning was finding a way to make his name as familiar to voters in this vast empty district as that of his Republican primary opponent. Cox, long the city manager of Victorville, was relatively new to the world of electoral politics. Not so his opponent. Phil Wyman was first elected to the Assembly from this area in 1978. He served until 1992 when he made an abortive run for Congress, losing the GOP primary to Buck McKeon. A year later, he won a special election to the state Senate, a seat he subsequently lost in 1994. In 1996 he staged yet another comeback attempt, losing a state Senate primary to Pete Knight. All this activity, spanning the better part of 14 years, gave Wyman broad name recognition in a district that sprawls through three large but sparsely populated counties – Inyo, Kern and a northern and western San Bernardino. The latter county provides the bulk of district voters, and Cox had some credentials there thanks to his 30-year stint as a Victorville official. He was unknown, however, in the other two counties, as results demonstrated. Wyman won Kern and Inyo counties by a two-to-one margin, giving him an 8,400-vote edge before any tallies were counted in San Bernardino. Not that it mattered. Although Cox fared better in his home county, he still trailed Wyman 58-to-42 percent, losing by another 6,500 votes. Part of Cox's problem lay in the nature of the blanket primary. To overcome Wyman's natural Republican base, built over a long career, Cox had to appeal to independents and crossover Democrats. But that meant running to the center – not a comfortable place to be for a Republican trying to capture his party's nomination in a very conservative district. Instead, Cox tried to out-conservative Wyman. In a series of debates, both candidates touted themselves as having the most complete set of right-leaning qualifications. In the end, he couldn't get far enough to the right on Wyman, who has a long track record as a legislative conservative. Nor did Cox have the resources to adequately compete in a far-flung district. The bulk of his treasury came from a relatively few sources, namely the building industry and the elected officials who promoted his candidacy – Knight, McKeon and Congressman Bill Thomas. Wyman, on the other hand, racked up a sizeable warchest from his usual stable of contributors, namely the insurance industry, National Rifle Association and racetracks. Given the strong GOP registration edge, Wyman should have an easy time in the fall with Democrat Bob Conaway. He is eligible for two more terms under the conditions of Proposition 140.

DISTRICT 35 (43%D - 36%R - 15%DS)

Jackson (D)*	**52,974**	**89**	**55**
Norrdin (D)	6,546	11	7
Sullivan (R)	**35,797**	**100**	**37**
Dahl (NL)	**1.925**	**100**	**2**

With little or no effort, incumbent Democrat Hannah-Beth Jackson bested primary challenger David Norrdin. Things won't be quite so easy come November. Republicans have their eyes on recapturing the seat Jackson won after besting Chris Mitchum in a grueling battle two years ago. Already, they been busy painting Jackson as too liberal for the district. This year's opponent, Robin Sullivan, a two-term Santa Paula City Councilwoman, occupies the moderate ground in the

Jackson

Sullivan

Republican party. In what will be a mirror image of the overlapping congressional fight between Democrat Lois Capps and Republican Mike Stoker, a moderate Republican will go up against a sitting liberal Democrat in a swing district. Given that the 2000 primary favored conservative Republicans over moderates, and the fact that Jackson's numbers held strong and even improved a bit, Sullivan has her work cut out. Jackson has the advantage of incumbency and has shown herself to be an over-achiever when it comes to care and feeding of the district. Sullivan, on the other hand, has stepped into the state arena for the first time and though she managed to pull in her party's vote with little, if any, primary campaigning, she'll have to wrest a sizable number of swing voters away from Jackson to grab the seat from her.

DISTRICT 36 (35%D - 47%R - 13%DS)

Calderon (D)	**25,267**	**100**	**30**
Runner (R)*	**54,254**	**100**	**65**
Bashem (L)	**3,609**	**100**	**5**

Lancaster and the Antelope Valley is the last frontier for Republicans in Los Angeles County. They'll have two more years before term limits oblige them to find another conservative to replace two-termer George Runner.

DISTRICT 37 (39%D - 42%R - 14%DS)

McGrath (D)	**25,079**	**74**	**31**
Sharkey (D)	9,068	26	11
Strickland (R)*	**45,283**	**100**	**56**
Michlin (L)	**1,660**	**100**	**2**

The strong conservative turnout in the primary helped boost the vote total of youthful incumbent Tony Strickland. Democrats, however, are not deterred, believing this Ventura County district is turning in their direction. Roz McGrath, the kindergar-

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ten teacher/rancher who came close to beating Strickland in his maiden voyage two years ago, is back for a rematch and barring a Democratic meltdown, will likely get plenty of help in the fall, both from the Democratic Caucus and from organized labor. But as the incumbent, Strickland will be similarly endowed, both from his caucus and from his allies in the conservative movement.

DISTRICT 38 (39%D - 43%R - 13%DS)

Lauritzen (D)	**29,831**	**100**	**36**
Hopkins (R)	10,543	21	13
Richman (R)	**22,288**	**45**	**27**
Walker (R)	17,142	34	21
Baron (L)	**2,756**	**100**	**3**

It looked for a while like the three-way GOP contest for the Simi Valley seat vacated by Senate-seeking incumbent Tom McClintock would be a runaway. Physician Keith Richman garnered a broad endorsement list, which included the likes of Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan and the Association of Los Angeles County Deputy Sheriffs. Ventura School Board member Norm Walker had trouble even lining up the backing of McClintock despite having worked for him. But McClintock's eventual blessing brought Walker in touch with the conservative Liberty Caucus, who targeted Richman as one of their "Dirty Dozen." Eleventh-hour support flowed in to Walker from the conservative California Independent Business PAC and its ideological soulmate, Howard Ahamanson. Walker used the infusion to zing Richman with the dreaded "L" word (liberal), citing his acceptance of support from labor unions (albeit those from law enforcement). Ultimately, Walker wound up making the contest nominally competitive and kept Richman under 50 percent of the GOP vote. But the physician had too big a head start and his ability to self-finance virtually guaranteed that Walker would never catch up. Although math teacher Jon Lauritzen was the top vote getter in the primary, his 36 percent of the total vote fell short of Democratic registration. With the moderate Richman likely to pull cross-party support, Lauritzen will likely be crossed off the Democrats' "A" list.

DISTRICT 39 (62%D - 20%R - 13%DS)

Cardenas (D)*	**30,890**	**100**	**78**
Valdez (R)	**6,939**	**100**	**17**
Maira (L)	**2,076**	**100**	**5**

One-time speaker candidate Tony Cardenas was active in the primaries on behalf of Latino Caucus legislative candidates, and remains a solid conduit for Indian contributions to the Assembly Democrats.

DISTRICT 40 (54%D - 26%R - 15%DS)

Hertzberg (D)*	**38,876**	**100**	**69**
DeLeuw (R)	4,919	34	9
Hammans (R)	**9,613**	**66**	**17**
Ross (L)	**3,278**	**100**	**6**

Though his own re-election is assured, the future speaker of the Assembly took a glancing cuff to the noggin in the March primary with the failure of Proposition 15, the crime-lab bond that bore his name. Hertzberg can console himself with the knowledge that GOP primary results left him with somewhat better odds of keeping, or perhaps even strengthening, his majority in the Assembly this fall.

DISTRICT 41 (49%D - 33%R - 13%DS)

Freeman (D)	15,416	27	17
Gottfried (D)	8,435	15	9
Pavley (D)	**18,507**	**33**	**20**
Vazquez (D)	10,220	18	11
Wallace (D)	3,894	7	4
Shapiro (R)	**22,465**	**72**	**25**
Stitch (R)	8,888	28	10
Goldman (L)	**2,938**	**100**	**3**

Those who hold that money is not the be-all-and-end-all of politics will likely make an example of this five-way slugfest to fill the Santa Monica-based seat vacated by termed-out incumbent Sheila Kuehl. In the beginning, the smart money — indeed, most of the money period — was on 71-year-old S. David Freeman, the head of the L.A. Department of Water and Power. Sporting Democratic Party credentials dating back to the Johnson Administration and favorable quotes from the likes of Ralph Nader and Richard Riordan, the cowboy-hatted Freeman corralled about $400,000. He spent most of it on a barrage of slick

Shapiro

Pavley

mail, including a massive 40-page epic referred to in the district as "the book." Three of the other four Democrats sported their own public-service resumes, but only one, Agoura Hills Councilwoman Fran Pavley, was from someplace other than Santa Monica. Though Freeman had the money, most of the buzz was about Pavley, whose service on the California Coastal Commission and the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy gave her local environmental credentials to match Freeman's national reputation as a green-power advocate. Former Santa Monica Councilman Tony Vazquez tried to cobble together a coalition of liberals and Latinos from his geographic base, but Santa Monica School Board Member Brenda Gottfried took a share of that vote and both drew from Freeman, who also listed a Santa Monica address. Over on the other side of the mountains, though, Pavley was queen. Her combination of environmental activism, local government experience and her background as a classroom school teacher won her the buzz even as Freeman scooped up the cash. In the end, she raised about $150,000 (including $10,000 from Eagles member Don Henley) cobbled together an army of volunteers, and beat Freeman by 3,000 votes in a whistle-clean campaign. Her victory complicates an already complicated task for Republican Jayne Murphy Shapiro, who dispatched nominal opposition in the GOP primary. With her background as a child-safety activist and substantial resources, GOP leaders have touted Shapiro as a candidate who could end the Democrats' long dominance here. But history is on the Democrats' side in a district that has backed the likes of Kuehl and U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer. Moreover, the GOP's math depends on Shapiro domi-

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nating the more moderate vote in the San Fernando Valley portion of the district, a dominance that becomes problematic with an attractive Democrat working the same base.

DISTRICT 42 (56%D - 23%R - 17%DS)

Koretz (D)	**28,125**	**44**	**35**
Stone (D)	10,491	16	13
Susskind (D)	25,533	40	31
Taylor (R)	**10,847**	**100**	**13**
Amir (G)	**3,269**	**100**	**4**
Selzer (L)	**2,429**	**100**	**3**
Adam (NL)	**630**	**100**	**1**

Koretz

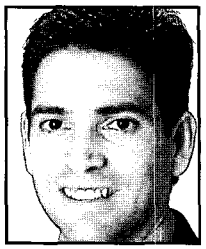
Susskind

The message that comes out of this Westside district's three-way Democratic primary is that, sometimes, perserverance pays off. Six years ago, West Hollywood Councilman Paul Koretz ran in a crowded field and lost to future Assemblyman Wally Knox. Almost from the moment the votes were counted, Koretz began raising money and building chits for the day when term limits would reopen the seat. By late-1999, while the rest of the field was still firming up, Koretz had already amassed more than $100,000 in start-up funding and had pocketed endorsements from much of the Democratic establishment, including L.A. County Supervisor Zev Yaroslavsky. Eventually, Koretz would also secure the backing of Governor Gray Davis and just about everyone who ever went to a Democratic Party gathering in or out of the district. Blocked from more traditional Democratic avenues, Los Angeles attorney Amanda Susskind positioned herself in the spot where Knox had been successful six years earlier: tilting toward the political center. She secured the backing of L.A. Mayor Richard Riordan as well as some law-enforcement backing, and also had help from the National Women's Political Caucus and the Chamber of Commerce-backed JOBSPAC. Susskind's broader support base allowed her to out-raise Koretz during the campaign itself and ship out more mail. But she pulled her punches on her fellow Democrat, opting to hit him only at the end with a mailer noting that some of his West Hollywood Council colleagues weren't supporting him. Physician Daniel Stone seeded his campaign with his own money and tried to make health care an issue in the race. His pitch: Put a doctor in the house. Ultimately, Stone didn't have enough money to make it stick, and even if he had, Koretz had probably locked up most of the physicians in the district for his side. Those close to the race say it's likely Stone's 16 percent of the Democratic vote drew about equally from Susskind and Koretz. The wan showing by Republican Douglas Taylor suggests Susskind was successful in attracting GOP crossovers. But in this neck of the woods, there aren't many of those to go around anyway, and there just weren't enough to push her over the top. The strong Democratic registration in this district virtually assures Koretz will win the Assembly seat for which he's toiled for most of the last decade.

DISTRICT 43 (45%D - 35%R - 16%DS)

Frommer (D)	**16,608**	**43**	**25**
Hisserich (D)	8,576	22	13
Krekorian (D)	13,382	35	20
Maccarley (R)	9,925	35	15
Michael (R)	4,318	15	6
Missakian (R)	**13,930**	**50**	**21**

Once a safely Republican suburban enclave, this Glendale-centered swing district now sports an eclectic ethnic stew heavily influenced by Armenian and Latino voters. Though it's still fairly close in registration, the district has swung sharply toward Democrats and the departure of incumbent Scott Wildman drew a trio of Democratic competitors. Best known to Sacramento denizens was Dario Frommer, who'd held the unenviable job of Appointments Secretary for Governor Gray Davis until he "went over the wall" by announcing for the Assembly. Though he was born and raised in the district, Frommer had to


Frommer

Missakian

fight the perception that he was the imported Sacramento candidate, a misnomer his two rivals were only too happy to encourage. The better-funded of the two was Paul Krekorian, one-time member of Glendale's Ethics Commission. An entertainment lawyer by profession, Krekorian and his political consultant put a strong emphasis on registering and turning out new Armenian voters. They'd gone to school on the subject a year earlier with the successful election of an Armenian Democrat to the Glendale City Council. Had Krekorian been the only Armenian in the race, Frommer wouldn't have had a chance. But the best-financed Republican contender, Craig Missakian, was also of Armenian descent, and enjoyed the backing of the Armenian National Council. In the open primary, Krekorian found himself competing as much with Missakian as with Frommer, as Armenian voters have a history of going with ethnicity. Looking to shore up his own base, Frommer benefitted at the finish from a direct-mail pitch to Latinos, emphasizing that Frommer was a Latino from Glendale, despite his German-sounding last name. The late pitch, underwritten by an engaged Latino Caucus, helped push Frommer past the finish line. But the strong showings of Krekorian and Missakian point to the potency of the Armenian vote in the district. If history holds, and the bulked-up Armenian electorate favors ethnicity, GOP nominee Missakian will reap the benefits, and the GOP may have an unexpected opportunity in a district that was approaching "lost cause" status.

DISTRICT 44 (45%D - 37%R - 14%DS)

Franco (D)	2,067	4	2
Gordon (D)	16,739	32	19
Liu (D)	**24,581**	**47**	**28**

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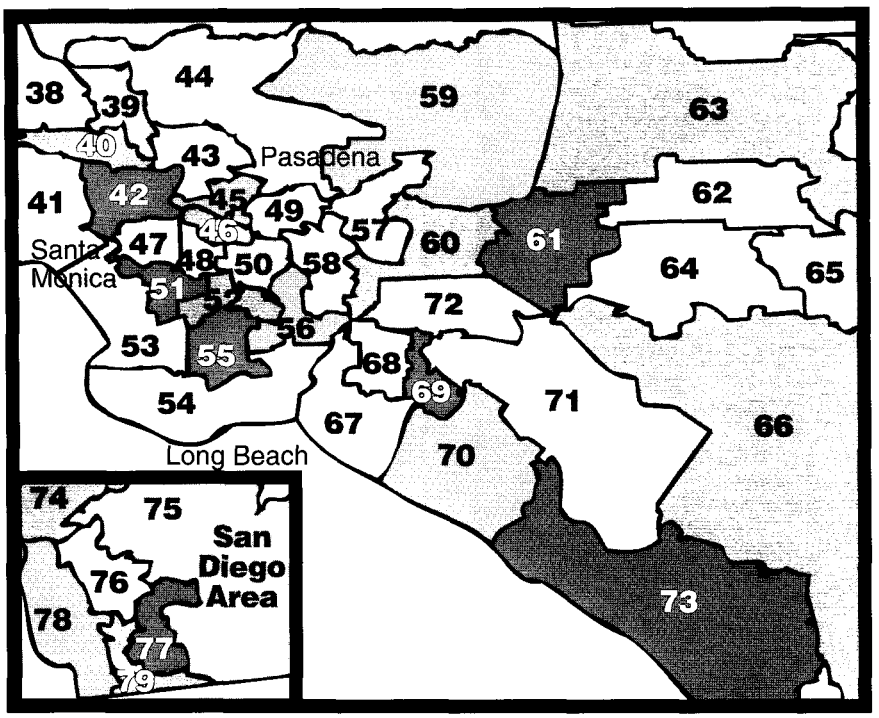
Peterson-More (D)	9,140	17	10
Jones (R)	11,731	34	13
McMillan (R)	**15,258**	**44**	**17**
Wagner (R)	7,403	22	8
Douglas (L)	**1,745**	**100**	**2**

Liu

Gordon

Los Angeles Basin Area



If Fran Pavley's victory in the 41st proves that money isn't everything in politics, Carol Liu's win in this Pasadena-based district shows that money is still a pretty handy thing to have. The Democratic primary to fill the seat vacated by Senate hopeful Jack Scott boiled down to a three-way affair pitting Liu, the mayor of La Canada-Flintridge, against businesswoman Diana Peterson-More and former Screen Actors Guild President Barry Gordon. Of the three, Gordon appeared to have the best name recognition and the biggest head of steam: His near-miss loss to Representative James Rogan in the 1998 congressional contest had won him a lot of friends among traditional Democratic constituencies, such as organized labor. An adept fund-raiser, Gordon tilled the field to solidify his backing in the Democratic base, in hopes that it, plus a smidgen of crossover support, would carry the day. But Liu had her own crossover pitch, as the moderate Asian mayor of a small but important city in the district. Liu and her husband, former Southern California Edison CEO Michael Peevy, also had personal wealth that they didn't flinch from committing to the contest. By the end, the couple had dumped more than $500,000 into the race. The money bought a string of mail, much of it aimed at Republican and independent voters. It was fertile ground, as the GOP primary wasn't much of a drawing card. The leading GOP candidate was conservative Susan Carpenter-McMillan, best known for her role as public spokeswoman for Paula Jones. Low-profile moderate Robert Wagner offered no resistance to Carpenter-McMillan and former Wilson administration aide Damien Jones provided precious little until the last two weeks, when a flurry of contributions came in from traditional and not-so-traditional GOP sources. The money allowed him to send out some mail highlighting Carpenter-McMillan's opposition to capital punishment, a stance which she says is consistent with her opposition to abortion rights. It was clear that Jones' challenge was too little, too late, and with the real action on the Democratic side, the three GOP candidates combined barely matched Republican registration in the district. The bulk of the crossovers appear to have gone to Liu, and Gordon's Democratic base wound up being diluted by Peterson-More, whose campaign was backed by the National Women's Political Caucus. Gordon also appears to have been denied the help he'd anticipated from organized labor: Outside of the carpenter's union, most of labor's ground support was directed toward other contests. With a wealthy moderate elected official as their standard-bearer, Democrats believe they are in good shape to hold on to this swing district, especially with the conservative Carpenter-McMillan as the GOP candidate. But the Republican enjoyed some timely late primary help from conservative Sugar Daddy Howard Ahmanson, and is hardly expected to go away quietly this fall.

DISTRICT 45 (62%D - 17%R - 16%DS)

De La Rosa (D)	3,268	8	8
Goldberg (D)	**23,165**	**60**	**60**
Portillo (D)	12,155	32	32

The East Los Angeles seat left open by the departure of termed-out Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa figured to be the site of the year's steel-cage grudge match. Six years ago, Villaraigosa upset Bill Mabie, chief aide to then-Assemblyman Richard Polanco, in part by running as the Latino alternative to Polanco's hand-picked Anglo successor. With Villaraigosa anointing an Anglo — Los Angeles Councilwoman Jackie Goldberg — as his heir-apparent, Polanco sought to turn the tables by backing Cesar Portillo, a government affairs officer for an AIDS health cen-

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ter. The race was distinctive not only because of the leadership dynamic but because both major candidates were openly homosexual. Goldberg, in fact, was the first open homosexual ever elected to the Los Angeles City Council. Villaraigosa pulled out all the stops on Goldberg's behalf, raising money and securing for her a full-court press from the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor. The efforts were rendered all but unnecessary late in the campaign, when Portillo publicly revealed that he'd been arrested nine years ago for soliciting an undercover police officer. Portillo might have survived the arrest itself with proper handling. But he couldn't survive having deceived his supporters and his political consultant about the arrest. The consultant quit, and Polanco and most of his allies yanked their financial backing for Portillo. From that point on, it was all over but the voting. The labor program once thought essential to Goldberg's success became the vehicle for running up the score. Could Portillo have won had he handled the arrest better? Possibly, but it would have been difficult against a well-known councilwoman whose policy positions were not all that much different from his own. With an overwhelming Democratic registration edge, Goldberg's primary win assures her future as a member of the Assembly. It also was an important victory for mayoral hopeful Villaraigosa, who passes the district baton with the same skill he showed in handing off the speakership to long-time ally Bob Hertzberg.

DISTRICT 46 (65%D - 15%R - 15%DS)

Cedillo (D)*	**16,811**	**100**	**84**
Brown (R)	**3,231**	**100**	**16**

Incumbent Gil Cedillo draws a college student as a Republican challenger. 'Nuff said.

DISTRICT 47 (71%D - 13%R - 12%DS)

Wesson (D)*	**57,297**	**100**	**82**
Leonard (R)	**10,240**	**100**	**15**
Pacer (L)	**2,739**	**100**	**4**

From the safety of his Culver City district, freshman Herb Wesson spent the primary season advocating on behalf of other African American office-seekers.

DISTRICT 48 (81%D - 6%R - 8%DS)

Wright (D)*	**29,569**	**100**	**93**
Woods (R)	**2,401**	**100**	**7**

All you really need to know about GOP chances here is this: There are more decline-to-states than Republicans.

DISTRICT 49 (58%D - 22%R - 16%DS)

Romero (D)*	**27,381**	**100**	**100**

The Election Night suspense for first-termer Gloria Romero must have just been unbearable.

DISTRICT 50 (69%D - 14%R - 13%DS)

Firebaugh (D)*	**22,845**	**100**	**82**
Miller (R)	**4,948**	**100**	**18**

Another urban Los Angeles district where Republicans barely outnumber independents, and Democrats, like incumbent Marco Firebaugh, are secure.

DISTRICT 51 (68%D - 15%R - 11%DS)

Brown (D)	2,225	5	4
Dunlap (D)	4,387	10	8
Fernandez (D)	6,369	15	12
Horton (D)	**18,972**	**43**	**37**
Jiminez (D)	3,696	8	7
Reed (D)	8,479	19	16
Hawkins (R)	**7,798**	**100**	**15**

With all the Inglewood city officials running for the Assembly this spring, it's a wonder they didn't just shut down City Hall for the duration. Of the six Democrats who ran to fill the seat vacated by Senate-bound incumbent Ed Vincent, three were on the Inglewood City Council, a fourth was the city treasurer and a fifth was a member of the Inglewood school board. In the end, most of the attention, and most of the votes, coalesced around CPA Jerome Horton. The near-consensus choice of the Legislative Black Caucus, Horton enjoyed most of the endorsements and nearly all of the money that came into the race. School board trustee Thomasina Reed earned an endorsement (as did Horton) from state Senator Teresa Hughes, and made much of her status as the only woman in the race. But the perennial candidate was seen as a gadfly by most and her second-place showing was more than 10,000 votes shy of Horton's total. Given the district's overwhelming Democratic edge, the suspense in this race ended on primary night. Horton will be elected this fall.

DISTRICT 52 (74%D - 9%R - 9%DS)

Washington (D)*	**33,479**	**100**	**84**
Iles (R)	**3,910**	**61**	**10**
Taylor (R)	2,460	39	6

The big story here, of course, is the scalding GOP blood feud between businessman Mark Iles and political consultant Joe Taylor. White hot. Smoking. Probably shaved a good 15 votes off the margin for incumbent Carl Washington.

DISTRICT 53 (41%D - 38%R - 16%DS)

Nakano (D)*	**51,892**	**100**	**59**
Felando (R)	**32,377**	**100**	**37**
Howitt (L)	**3,568**	**100**	**4**

Another disappointing showing for the GOP in a tune-up for the fall campaign. Former Assemblyman Gerald Felando, billed as a recognizable alternative to freshman incumbent George Nakano, not only fell nearly 20,000 votes short of Nakano, he didn't even match GOP registration. Felando was never the most user-friendly Republican to begin with, having been one of former Assembly Speaker Willie Brown's GOP "aces in the hole." Given that history, and his weak showing, Republican leaders might decide that their relatively scarce campaign dollars would be better spent elsewhere.

DISTRICT 54 (45%D - 37%R - 13%DS)

Lowenthal (D)*	**42,796**	**100**	**52**
Kahn (R)	8,074	21	10
Svorinich (R)	**29,965**	**79**	**36**
Ogden (L)	**1,764**	**100**	**2**

Almost from the day he was elected, freshman Alan Lowenthal has been monitored by Republican leaders looking to retrieve a seat they believe Democrats "borrowed" from them. Believing that Lowenthal's voting record is too liberal for the district, the GOP recruited Los Angeles Councilman Rudy Svorinich, who lost to Steve Kuykendall in a 1998 congres-

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Lowenthal

Svorinich

sional primary. Svorinich spent about $100,000 in the primary, much of it on mail aimed at Lowenthal's voting record. But one mailer, which suggested Lowenthal's attendance record wasn't the best, so bothered the *Long Beach Press Telegram* that the paper withdrew its primary endorsement of Svorinich. The fracas didn't stop Svorinich from winning his party's nomination over underfunded perennial candidate, Sanford Kahn. But it did earn Lowenthal some positive publicity while he saved his strength for the fall campaign. Even though the incumbent scored slightly better than the GOP had hoped, the party likely won't flinch from pouring resources into this race.

DISTRICT 55 (65%D - 17%R - 13%DS)			
McDonald (D)	6,891	17	15
Oropeza (D)	**15,166**	**38**	**33**
Robinson (D)	6,409	16	14
Tabash (D)	11,390	29	25
Lankster (R)	**5,456**	**100**	**12**
Wilson (L)	**779**	**100**	**2**

This urban district, which comprises Carson, Wilmington and a portion of Long Beach, was drawn to elect an African American. But through four of the last eight years, the area has been represented by an Anglo, Dick Floyd. Floyd's collision with term limits opened the seat and two African Americans quickly entered the Democratic primary — perennial candidate Carl Robinson and former pro football player Keith McDonald, the son of area Representative Juanita Millender-McDonald. As the campaign developed, however, the contest became dominated by candidates who were not African American. Latina Long Beach councilwoman Jenny Oropeza cordoned off most labor and law enforcement endorsements, including firefighters and state employee unions. Staunchly supported by the Legislative Latino Caucus, Oropeza also had the backing of Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan and area state Senator Debra Bowen (D-Marina Del Rey). But the real buzz was created by attorney Edward Tabash. A candidate for Assembly in the San Fernando Valley six years ago, Tabash moved into the district in 1999 after a poll showed he had a chance of winning. Tabash dropped $200,000 of his own money into the contest early, and another $145,000

Oropeza

Tabash

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late. Voter outreach included cable television and mail, playing off his ballot designation as a "civil rights lawyer." Oropeza overwhelmed everyone at the mailbox, however, sending out more than a dozen different pieces identifying specific accomplishments. McDonald tried playing up his district roots, and his mother helped as well. But ultimately, he wasn't able to raise the money to match either Oropeza or Tabash. Oropeza's primary win, and her certain election this fall, is another Latino beachhead in a district not previously represented by a Latino politician.

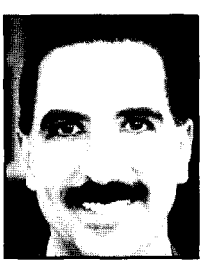
DISTRICT 56 (51%D - 33%R - 13%DS)

Havice (D)*	**37,988**	**100**	**55**
Hu (R)	**20,552**	**65**	**30**
Wong (R)	10,958	35	16

Incumbent Sally Havice seems to grow stronger as time goes on, but she'll still face a tough fall campaign against Cerritos Mayor Grace Hu. Of course, the upside for two-term Havice is that this is the last time she'll have to wear that election-year bull's-eye.

DISTRICT 57 (56%D - 25%R - 15%DS)

Chavez (D)	**23,877**	**63**	**51**
Fellow (D)	5,535	14	12
Lozano (D)	5,887	16	12
Wallach (D)	2,905	8	6
Venturoso (R)	**9,074**	**100**	**19**



Chavez

Fellow

The early take on the battle to replace termed-out incumbent Martin Gallegos favored La Puente Mayor Ed Chavez. In addition to being a local government official, Chavez was Gallegos' district aide and he collected most of the area's major Latino and labor endorsements. Still, even Chavez' own team was surprised by the size of his victory over a crowded field that included two other municipal officials and a former mayor. El Monte Councilman Tony Fellow had experience on his side, having come within 600 votes of beating Gallegos in their 1994 dust-up. He also had the backing of former Assemblywoman Sally Tanner. But Tanner's name didn't carry the same *gravitas* as it once did. Baldwin Park Mayor Manuel Lozano enjoyed a geographic edge, as Baldwin Park is larger than Chavez's base in La Puente. But Lozano was hampered in his fund raising, and both he and Fellow were simply overwhelmed by Chavez at the finish. In the last two weeks, Chavez received more than $60,000 in late contributions while Fellow and Lozano got nary a dime. With his boss as his calling card, and a mail program stressing his likability, the rout was on. Thanks to overwhelming Democratic registration, Chavez is assured of having his ticket punched to Sacramento this fall.

DISTRICT 58 (62%D - 23%R - 11%DS)

Calderon (D)*	**42,850**	**100**	**75**
Burrola (R)	**14,639**	**100**	**25**

Businessman Alex Burrola scored a whopping two points better than Republican registration. Must have been the McCain Factor.

DISTRICT 59 (39%D - 43%R - 14%DS)

Hall (D)	**24,532**	**100**	**28**
Allen (R)	10,945	19	13
Harbicht (R)	13,844	24	16
Khalil (R)	1,135	2	1
Leiga (R)	6,615	11	8
Mountjoy (R)	**17,353**	**30**	**20**
Steinmeier (R)	8,791	15	10
White (L)	**1,533**	**100**	**2**
Allison (NL)	**1,865**	**100**	**2**

It seems like just about every Republican from Claremont to Covina took a look at running for this conservative San Gabriel Valley seat vacated by Senate-seeking incumbent Bob Margett. Most of the early entrants in the GOP primary had some local government background. Both Arcadia school board member Joann Steinmeier and Covina councilman Walt Allen had backgrounds that gave them access to campaign contributions. For Allen, a moderate African American police officer, it was law enforcement. For Steinmeier, it was the California Teachers Association. Businessman Robert Harbicht, an Arcadia councilman, put up his own grubstake. But for the last candidate in the race, it was simply a matter of going into the family business. Conservative Dennis Mountjoy, the son of termed-out Senator Richard Mountjoy, enjoyed unmatched name identification, especially without his father on the ballot to confuse voters. Dad pitched in with campaign transfers that, by objective standards, were fairly modest, but by Mountjoy standards almost unheard of. Although all three of his major foes raised and spent in the $100,000 range, Mountjoy had enough to hit Steinmeier and Allen for their ties to labor unions. Harbicht also attacked Allen for his connections to law-enforcement unions. In the end, it boiled down to a case of voters simply being accustomed to voting for Mountjoys. Had one candidate been identified early on as the anti-Mountjoy, a case might have been made against this form of political nepotism. But with four different campaigns in the mix, there were just too many cooks in the kitchen. Although Democrats would dearly love to do to the son what they were never able to do to the father, registration figures are decidedly unfriendly to labor organizer Meline Hall.

DISTRICT 60 (43%D - 38%R - 15%DS)

Duhamel (D)	**21,564**	**100**	**31**
Pacheco (R)*	**45,073**	**100**	**65**
Young (L)	**2,999**	**100**	**4**

Someday, Democrats believe, this eastern San Gabriel Valley seat will be theirs. But not while Robert Pacheco, the head of the Latino Republican Caucus, holds his ground.

DISTRICT 61 (46% D - 37% R - 13% DS)

McLeod (D)	**15,306**	**61**	**28**
Avila (D)	9,684	39	18
DeMallie (R)	9, 238	33	17
Cortez (R)	8,886	32	16
Yates (R)	**9,976**	**36**	**19**
Kocot (L)	**834**	**100**	**2**

If Democrats lose this seat in November – a strong possibility – they can blame it on the capricious nature

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of term limits. The seat currently is vacant because the incumbent, Democrat Nell Soto, was elected to the state Senate in a special election held the day of the March primary. She was able to run for the Senate because the incumbent in that district – Democrat Joe Baca – had vacated his seat after being elected to Congress last November to replace area Congressman George Brown Jr., who died last year. Although neither Soto nor Baca was termed out in 2000, each sought a district that might extend her or his career. Thus, the 61st District sits at the end of a string of falling dominoes. Despite voter-registration figures that favor Democrats, the district itself has been in Republican hands for most of the past decade. In fact, Soto's victory in 1998 was the first time a Democrat had held the district at all during the 1990s, and she won partly because Republicans nominated a candidate far too conservative for district voters. Republican pooh-bahs, sensing a snatch from Democrats, recruited Pomona Mayor Eddie Cortez as their standard-bearer, figuring that the moderate Republican would appeal to the district's large Latino population, which had broadly supported Soto in 1998. They were especially concerned because also on the ticket was Bob DeMallie, the conservative former school board trustee dispatched by Soto two years ago. Assembly Republicans and their allies threw ample resources at Cortez, but the affable businessman faced a problem of geography. As mayor of Pomona, he hails from Los Angeles County, which provides only 15 percent of district voters. The bulk of the district lies in San Bernardino County, where Cortez was virtually unknown. Soto, too, comes from Pomona but was able to overcome the problem two years ago with an aggressive and active campaign in San Bernardino, and the luck of drawing DeMallie as an opponent. Had Cortez been head-to-head with DeMallie, he might have been able to duplicate Soto's victory. But the race also featured a third Republican, who eventually torpedoed both Cortez and DeMallie. Chino Councilman Dennis Yates hadn't planned to challenge Soto, but once she opted for the Senate campaign, he dropped papers during a filing extension required when she did not seek re-election. Yates, like Cortez, is a moderate on issues such as education, abortion, school vouchers and gun control – all of which separates the pair philosophically from DeMallie. Thus Yates and Cortez were competing for the same constituency of moderate Republicans, crossover Democrats and independents. The race, therefore, turned on the fulcrum of geography. More than 40 percent of district voters live in two San Bernardino County cities – Chino and Chino Hills – and that gave Yates an enormous advantage anchored to his seven years on the Chino City Council and his long involvement with civic affairs in what is known as the district's west end. Throughout the 1990s, Yates was the top vote-getter in council elections, a record underscored by the fact that Chino Mayor Eunice Ulloa switched her endorsement from Cortez to Yates once Yates entered the fray. In the end, Cortez whomped the opposition in Los Angeles County, taking in 78 percent of the vote. But that only amounted to 2,500 ballots. Across the county line in San Bernardino, nearly 25,000 voters participated in the GOP primary, and there, Cortez finished a dismal third. The fall race now becomes more interesting. Had Cortez won the primary, it was thought that Democrats would cede the election. Had DeMallie won, Democrats were sure to throw on a full-court press in an effort to retain the seat with their anointed candidiate, Gloria McLeod. Yates, however, presents a much different nut to crack — and a more intriguing one. The district has a large Latino population, and McLeod is a Latina. Hispanic voters helped Soto win in 1998, but will they back McLeod, a member of the Chaffey Community College District board? Soto had the luxury of running against an Anglo male — as does McLeod. But McLeod's opponent is a moderate in the mold of the popular Republican who held this district from 1992 to 1998 — San Bernardino County Supervisor Fred Aguiar. Thus, a hot fall race is a distinct probability.

DISTRICT 62 (57% D - 28% R - 10%)

Longville (D)*	**20,900**	**66**	**47**
Garcia (D)	10,831	34	24
Martinez (R)	**11,633**	**100**	**26**
Matus (L)	**1,097**	**100**	**2**

First-term Democrat John Longville had a primary challenger but not much of a challenge. Vote totals in this San Bernardino County district were abysmally low, given all the activity surrounding the March primary. But businesswoman Mary Martinez, a Fontana Republican and Longville's November opponent, is going to have to lure another 20,000 voters to the polls this fall – and get all of them to vote for the GOP – if she has any chance of winning.

DISTRICT 63 (40% D - 45% R - 11% DS)

Stotz (D)	**27,594**	**100**	**32**
Leonard (R)*	**50,910**	**92**	**60**
Wallace (R)	4,193	8	5
Mohler (L)	**3,005**	**100**	**4**

Bill Leonard has been representing this area as a lawmaker for 22 years, and in 2002 he will have the distinction of becoming the first legislator ever termed out of both houses of the Legislature. Leonard was first elected to the Assembly in 1978 where he served for a decade until being elected to the state Senate. Termed out of the Senate in 1996, Leonard was eligible for three more terms in the Assembly because his previous stint had ended prior to the passage of Proposition 140. He and Republican Jim Brulte then engineered the first term-limits driven seat swap when the termed-out Brulte ran for Leonard's Senate district and Leonard returned to the lower house, taking Brulte's Assembly seat. All this is just an historical footnote regarding a thoughtful conservative legislator whose family has been involved in Inland Empire Republican politics for two generations.

DISTRICT 64 (39% D - 46% R - 10% DS)

Medina (D)	**21,322**	**100**	**33**
R.Pacheco (R)*	**38,990**	**100**	**60**
Turner (L)	**1,929**	**100**	**3**
Wallack (NL)	**2.935**	**100**	**5**

Republican Rod Pacheco, a former

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Riverside deputy district attorney, had a brief ride as Assembly minority leader following the 1998 elections. But his tenure in that role was cut short when he could not get along with factions inside his caucus. None of this disturbed his re-election campaign, however, and he should easily fend off any challenge this fall from Jose Medina, a Riverside teacher and community college trustee.

DISTRICT 65 (38% D - 46% R - 11% DS)

Quinto (D)	**13,352**	**58**	**16**
Mediano (D)	9,701	42	12
Bogh (R)	20,333	37	25
O'Brien (R)	6,375	12	8
Leja (R)	**27,934**	**51**	**34**
Flickinger (L)	**3,903**	**100**	**5**
Renteria (NL)	**820**	**100**	**1**

Bogh

Leja

The termed-out retirement of Republican Brett Granlund created a heated GOP primary in this corner of the Inland Empire, where a candidate recruited by legislative Republicans went up against a former aide to Governor Pete Wilson. A local Republican gadfly also was in the mix. The anointed contender was Jan Leja, the former mayor of Beaumont, who was recruited by state Senator Jim Brulte and Assembly Minority Leader Scott Baugh. Her main opponent was Russ Bogh, Wilson's regional director who currently serves as a regional manager for Southern California Edison. Bogh had been the first to announce for the seat and even earned an early endorsement from Granlund. But that support evaporated when Leja was squired into the race by Brulte, and Granlund switched allegiance. Leja also was endorsed by area Congressman Jerry Lewis and 34 other lawmakers. As a result, she was able to put together a sizable cash account, seeded with large contributions from Howard Ahmanson Jr.'s Fieldstead and Company, the California Independent Business PAC, California Medical Association and Assemblywoman Pat Bates. Bogh, on the other hand, had support from a pair of area legislators – Assemblymen Rod Pacheco of Riverside and Jim Battin of Palm Desert. His campaign, however, largely was self-funded from his own checkbook and that of his family, whose Bogh Construction Company pumped some $50,000 into the race during the final weeks. Other members of the Bogh family contributed another $40,000 down the stretch. Philosophically, not much separated the two candidates, both of whom touted their conservative credentials in mailers. But Leja had the advantage of experience in elective office, which proved a plus in an election where voters were mostly content and unwilling to risk a ballot on untried candidates. In the end, the sheer weight of endorsements, coupled with Leja's experience, sank Bogh's campaign. Leja captured better than 50 percent of the vote in both Riverside and San Bernardino counties, while holding Bogh to under 40 percent in both venues. David O'Brien, the third Republican on the ballot, was making his fourth run at the nomination, having lost three times to Granlund. Although he finished a distant last, his presence may have cost Bogh any chance to be competitive with Leja, especially in San Bernardino County where O'Brien gained nearly 15 percent of the vote. With registration heavily favoring Republicans, Leja now can look forward to a relatively calm November.

DISTRICT 66 (31% D - 52% R - 12% DS)

Canfield (D)	**11,517**	**56**	**11**
Estenger (D)	8,920	44	8
Bennett (R)	25,103	30	24
Stone (R)	23,674	28	22
Hollingsworth (R)	**31,708**	**38**	**30**
Pape (R)	3,430	4	3
Reutter (G)	**1,565**	**100**	**1**

Every now and then, an election comes along that proves once again that no matter how much money you have, or how much money you are willing to spend, you cannot pound a round peg into a square hole. Republican Jeffrey Bennett, the millionaire mayor of Corona who made a fortune with Nature's Recipe Pet Food Company, sank more than $1 million into his effort to succeed termed-out Republican Bruce Thompson. He lost to conservative Dennis Hollingsworth, a Murietta businessman making his first run for public office. Bennett had been running for more than a year and had put together an impressive campaign team that included Sacramento consultant Jim Nygren, advertising maven Larry McCarthy and heavyweight advisor Ken Khachigian. He sent out copious amounts of mail, targeted McCarthy's slick handiwork into the district with a $100,000 cable TV buy, and papered the San Bernardino-San Diego county district with signs and newspaper ads. Unfortunately for Bennett, he wasn't the only candidate sending out mail and funding phone banks. His opponents also were active, and although not armed with as much cash, their message resonated better with voters than did Bennett's. And their message was mostly about Bennett. In a campaign notable for its negativity, his opponents — primarily Hollingsworth — splattered Bennett with incidents from his past, including a two-decades-old embezzlement charge to which Bennett had pleaded no contest. The moderate Coronan also was hit with 11 different negative mailers, including a series of letters from constituents who accused him of, among other things, saying that "people of faith" don't belong in politics and starting an obscene altercation during a Corona council meeting. Personal attacks aside, however, Bennett was successfully defined by Hollingsworth as too liberal for the district. With financial help from conservative donors such as Howard Ahmanson Jr., Hollingsworth called attention to Bennett's support for gay

Bennett

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rights and for Internet taxation — both hot-button issues in this conservative district. Finally, Bennett was pummeled in a mailer on election eve by the district's popular state senator — Republican Ray Haynes — over the embezzlement conviction and over the fact that Bennett in the past had given money to some Democratic candidates. Included on that roster of donees was Kay Ceniceros, a Riverside County supervisor who also was Haynes' Democratic senatorial opponent in 1994. Bennett's candidacy also was hurt by two others on the GOP ticket. Conservative Kevin Pape, a Lake Elsinor councilman, could have siphoned votes away from Hollingsworth, but Pape dropped out of the race in January and endorsed Hollingsworth. In addition, Stone ran well in Temecula, where he remains a popular local official. Stone also gathered in some of the moderate and crossover votes that could have gone to Bennett had the negative campaign not raised doubts about the latter's character. In the end, the sheer weight of negative publicity and incorrect politics more than offset Bennett's unlimited cash reserves, as did the notion that some ballot initiatives and the GOP presidential primary brought more conservative voters to the polls. Hollingsworth now has the tough campaign behind him and can coast into the finals.

DISTRICT 67 (32% D - 50% R - 13% DS)			
Hilbert (D)	**20,183**	**100**	**21**
Brown (R)	5,617	8	6
Harman (R)	**37,328**	**52**	**39**
Righeimer (R)	28,598	40	30
Browne (L)	**4,055**	**100**	**4**

When former Assemblyman Dennis Brown dropped out of this race citing family commitments, conservative Republican Jim Righeimer seemed a shoo-in for the seat being vacated by Assembly Minority Leader Scott Baugh. But Righeimer's anti-union stance — most notably as co-author of Proposition 226 to limit using union dues for political contributions — came back to haunt him. Labor came on big for Huntington Beach City Councilman Tom Harman, a pro-choice, pro-gun-control moderate with loads of name ID in this coastal district. The Opportunity PAC, composed of teachers and service employee unions, gave Harman a cool $212,000 just days before Super Tuesday. And the unions made further contributions through their separate PACs. Declaring "a Democrat can't win" in this decidedly GOP district, union officials sent mailers urging crossover Democrats to turn out for Harman as a more labor-friendly alternative to Righeimer, a real estate executive in Fountain Valley who co-chaired the committee to recall former Assembly Speaker Doris Allen (R-Cypress). Righeimer fired back with negative mail attacking Harman's union and Democratic ties but it didn't stick. Harman figures to

Harman

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add the title "rookie assemblyman" to his resume come November.

DISTRICT 68 (39% D - 42% R - 15% DS)

Laine (D)	**18,538**	**100**	**31**
Maddox (R)*	**34,431**	**100**	**58**
Newhouse (L)	**2,588**	**100**	**4**
Snook (RF)	**3,855**	**100**	**6**

Businesswoman Tina Louise Laine has out-raised incumbent Ken Maddox, but more than half her war chest is filled with loans. Two things, however, will make this race interesting come November: Registration in Anaheim, Garden Grove and Buena Park is trending Laine's way, and Maddox has said he will support an anti-illegal immigration initiative — son of Proposition 187 — aimed at the November ballot. Latinos and Democrats energized by the former and angered by the latter might just swing toward Laine. But, as an incumbent, Maddox would move to the top of the GOP priority list if he faces a serious re-election threat.

DISTRICT 69 (52% D - 30% R - 13% DS)

Correa (D)*	**16,469**	**100**	**56**
Lopez (R)	**10,871**	**100**	**37**
Pham (NL)	**2,124**	**100**	**7**

Incumbent Lou Correa waited a long time for a Republican challenger — a strange thing considering the county GOP resented Correa's dumping of incumbent Republican Jim Morrissey in 1998. What's less strange, given the district's Democratic edge, is that Correa has outraised Anaheim City Councilman Lou Lopez 2-to-1, causing local Republicans to feel their money is better spent protecting an iffy seat in the 68th.

DISTRICT 70 (29% D - 52% R - 15% DS)

McKeon (D)	**27,563**	**100**	**30**
Campbell (R)	**59,134**	**100**	**63**
Vondruska (L)	**3,217**	**100**	**3**
Katz (NL)	**2,345**	**100**	**3**
Mills (RF)	**1,053**	**100**	**1**

CPA and car dealer John Campbell has the keys to replace termed-out Assemblywoman Marilyn Brewer. He also had enough campaign dollars to share with other GOP candidates elsewhere.

DISTRICT 71 (27% D - 55% R - 13% DS)

Foster (D)	**26,190**	**100**	**23**
Beck (R)	11,553	14	10
Campbell (R)*	**69,490**	**86**	**61**
Cross (L)	**2,481**	**100**	**2**
Bryant (NL)	**3,514**	**100**	**3**

Democrat Bea Foster's votes nearly matched her party's registration numbers — but incumbent Bill Campbell will still rule the most Republican seat in the Legislature.

DISTRICT 72 (31% D - 52% R - 12% DS)

Nanjundappa (D)	**13,865**	**100**	**16**
Bankhead (R)	15,943	23	19
Daucher (R)	**28,936**	**42**	**34**
Matthias (R)	24,541	36	28
Zamarra (NL)	**2,889**	**100**	**3**

Daucher

Here was another "moderate" surprise for the GOP establishment: Brea City Councilwoman Lynn Daucher, a pro-choice former teacher and school board member, beat out former Santa Anita Racetrack executive Bruce Matthias. This shouldn't have been too much of a shock, though, because Daucher had been out-raising both Matthias and Fullerton City Councilman Don Bankhead all along. Daucher banked more than $300,000, most of it from loans. The battle between Matthias and Daucher became heated, reflective of the struggle between the district's hardline conservatives who have run the political show here and an increasingly feisty group of moderate renegades. The moderates scored a win with Daucher, who benefited in the GOP primary as the only pro-choice woman facing two, pro-life male candidates.

DISTRICT 73 (29% D - 50% R - 15% DS)

Wilberg (D)	**21,725**	**100**	**25**
Bates (R)*	**58,965**	**100**	**67**
King (L)	**4,507**	**100**	**5**
Fisher (NL)	**2,471**	**100**	**3**

The only real challenge that Republican incumbent Patricia Bates will face on Election Day is driving on her district's frustrating freeways.

DISTRICT 74 (30% D - 48% R - 16% DS)

Herrera (D)	**18,858**	**100**	**20**
Beier (R)	3,998	6	4
Rady (R)	6,216	9	7
Wyland (R)	**16,500**	**24**	**18**
Estes (R)	13,580	19	15
Weaver (R)	10,979	16	12
Durgin (R)	3,346	5	4
Bond (R)	15,624	22	17
Hohman (L)	**1,776**	**100**	**2**
Bourdette (NL)	**1,716**	**100**	**2**

James Bond didn't have the biggest warchest. And as mayor of Encinitas, he didn't boast the biggest electoral base. But Bond had one asset no other candidate in this wide-open Republican primary could possibly match – his name. As a result, the 60-year-old coastal mayor nearly edged to the top of a heavily contested primary to succeed termed-out Republican Howard Kaloogian. At one point in early February, one poll actually showed Bond leading the field based almost solely on the value of his 007 name. In the end, however, the weight of money sank the field, including Bond – not his money but that of Mark Wyland, the conservative president of the Escondido Unified School Board who tossed nearly $500,000 from his own pocket into what proved a winning effort. Vista City Councilman Ed Estes Jr. finished third, with former talk-show host Mason Weaver fourth. Three more GOP candidates completed the field. In winning, Wyland overcame revelations that his campaign generosity at times had strayed beyond the boundaries of himself and the Republican Party to include $1,000 donations to the likes of Democrats Bill Bradley and Al Gore. Wyland confessed to being a Democrat in the 1980s, but insisted that he had gone through a conversion and now was the staunchest of conservatives. The contest featured a philosophical split among the Republican frontrunners, with Wyland and Weaver on the right, Bond in the middle and Estes on the left. The cash-short, name-short Estes had hoped that Wyland and Weaver would beat each other up and thus split the conservative vote and allow

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him to gather in moderates, independents and crossover Democrats. But Estes' campaign never attracted enough cash to get his message out beyond the district's coastal cities, where he shared a constituency with Bond. Estes essentially ceded the more conservative inland areas – and with it, the election. Weaver was Kaloogian's choice and had strong backing from the incumbent and Assemblyman Steve Baldwin. He also was bolstered by contributions from several other conservative legislators and from the National Rifle Association. Estes' roster of contributors, on the other hand, looked remarkably like that of a Democrat – with hefty infusions of cash from the likes of the California Teachers' Association and various labor groups. He also had the backing of moderate legislators such as Assemblywoman Charlene Zettel from the neighboring 75th District. But it was Wyland, owner of an Escondido lumber company, who boasted the bigfoot treasury, filled mostly with his own money and a few late contributions from the California Medical Association. The contest turned a bit nasty toward the end, with Estes the victim of anonymous hits delivered by an electronic phone bank that questioned his credentials and accused him of being too liberal for the district. With Democratic registration barely 30 percent, Wyland 's narrow primary victory translates into a seat in the Assembly. There will be no contest in the fall, despite the presence of a Democratic candidate.

DISTRICT 75 (29% D - 49% R - 16% DS)

Walters (D)	**25,803**	**100**	**26**
Zettel (R)*	**47,900**	**67**	**47**
Ward (R)	24,224	34	24
Pietila (L)	**3,350**	**100**	**3**

Republican Charlene Zettel is the first Latina ever elected to the Assembly as a Republican, and she handily beat back a primary challenge from conservative businessman Bob Ward. Zettel won this seat two years ago after a bruising and expensive campaign against a pair of conservative men, but this year proved much quieter.

DISTRICT 76 (40% D - 37% R - 17% DS)

Kehoe (D)	**43,005**	**100**	**56**
Kropp (R)	3,193	10	4
Cubello (R)	6,356	20	8
Gallup (R)	8,403	27	11
Nash-Hoff (R)	**13,763**	**43**	**18**
Oakley (L)	**2,687**	**100**	**3**

If a politician had a choice of assets going into an election, money in the bank likely would rank at the top of the priority list. Second would be favorable name identification. San Diego City Councilwoman Christine Kehoe has both in her quest to succeed termed-out Democrat Susan Davis, now a candidate for Congress. Kehoe, who narrowly lost a congressional race to Republican Brian Bilbray in 1998, ran 16 points ahead of Democratic registration, while the field of four Republican challengers barely beat GOP registration. That means that the district's vast number of independent voters went overwhelmingly for Kehoe. In addition, it is assumed that more Republicans than Democrats turned out in San Diego because of the presence of a contested primary on the GOP side and strong interest by Republican voters in a variety of races on the March ticket, including contests for president and mayor of San Diego. On the Republican side, moderate Michelle Nash-Hoff topped three challengers. She was backed financially by a number of Republican legislators, including Marilyn Brewer, Dick Dickerson and Charlene Zettel. A businesswoman, Nash-Hoff has been a Republican Party activist for many years, but her only foray into elective politics came in 1996 when she lost a contest for the San Diego City Council. She faces an uphill struggle against the better-known Kehoe. Although voter registration figures indicate the district is competitive, Davis held it rather easily in three elections, including 1998 when she took two-thirds of the vote. Both Governor Gray Davis and U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer carried the district convincingly in 1998 as well. The area itself will be the scene of fierce activity this fall, with highly competitive contests for both Congress and the state Senate. That activity could churn support for Nash-Hoff, but with Kehoe poised on the other side, Republicans will need a brace of luck.

DISTRICT 77 (38% D - 41% R - 15% DS)

Keegan (D)	**17,200**	**63**	**22**
Doria (D)	10,043	37	13
Halgren (R)	14,481	30	19
Davidson (R)	2,563	5	3
La Suer (R)	**24,874**	**51**	**32**
Mendoza (R)	6,775	14	9
Metti (L)	**1,536**	**100**	**2**

La Suer

Halgren

In her effort to succeed termed-out Republican Steve Baldwin, Penny Halgren faced a dilemma. Behind in the polls to a better-known opponent with conservative credentials tailored to the district, she could either spend her resources on building up her own name — or tear into her opponent. She took the latter route, slashing at La Mesa Vice Mayor Jay La Suer for allegations that he spent taxpayer money unwisely in his role as a San Diego County undersheriff. In four decidedly negative mailers, Halgren, a financial planner for San Diego County, attacked La Suer for having spent $650,000 on a pair of helicopters later appraised at $200,000 and for overspending to furnish his office. In a particularly pointed mailer, she accused him of having a secretary type campaign letters on taxpayer time. La Suer fired back, accusing Halgren of being investigated for using computers at her county office for personal work. The ad was pulled after a demand was issued by Halgren's attorney. The tenor of Halgren's campaign, and La Suer's response to it, created a negative atmosphere that may have torpedoed Halgren's only hope for victory — her ability to lure crossover Democrats and independents to her banner. She was hampered in this effort as well by the presence of a

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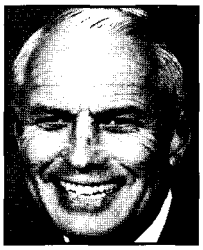
contested Democratic primary that featured El Cajon Deputy Mayor Todd Keegan. La Suer's conservative credentials fit the district's GOP constituency, and he was particularly successful at identifying Halgren as a moderate ill-suited to follow in Baldwin's footsteps. In fact, Halgren received much of her financial support from interests usually found backing Democrats, including Planned Parenthood and various labor groups. She also received ample support from moderate members of the Assembly caucus, including Rod Pacheco, Dick Dickerson, Marilyn Brewer and especially Charlene Zettel. Assembly candidate Jeff Bennett, who lost his own race in the 66th District, also chipped in with some $5,000. La Suer, on the other hand, built up a sizable treasury with help from conservative groups such as the National Rifle Association, Baldwin and Howard Ahmanson Jr. Heading into the fall, La Suer's victory has peaked the interest of Democrats, who briefly held this district at the beginning of the 1990s. At the time, however, they had a flawed candidate who eventually lost to Baldwin. Now, they have Keegan, a popular elected official in El Cajon. If Halgren's campaign did anything, it may have softened up La Suer for the fall, reminding district voters of the chinks in his armor. Vote totals from the primary are not encouraging for Democrats on the face of it since their candidates failed to reach Democratic voter registration. But in a blanket primary, where voters tend to migrate toward the shouting match, GOP vote totals may be inflated. At least, that's the current thinking of Democratic strategists who suddenly see the blip from this district on their radar screens.

DISTRICT 78 (37% D - 38% R - 17% DS)

Wayne (D)*	**44,071**	**100**	**53**
Shelby (R)	13,683	40	17
Steel (R)	**20,869**	**60**	**25**
Triglia (L)	**3,318**	**100**	**4**
Wingfield (NL)	**982**	**100**	**1**

Jeff Bennett likely is shaking his head in disbelief these days over the performance of John Steel, who won



Steel

Shelby

the GOP primary in this San Diego district. Bennett spent over $1 million in an effort to secure the Republican nomination in the 66th Assembly District in Riverside and western San Diego counties. He lost. Steel, on the other hand, spent all of $22,000, actively campaigned less than a month — and won. Dr. Steel, who retired six years ago as medical chief of staff at Scripps Memorial Hospital in San Diego, was making his second foray into the world of elective politics. In 1994, he ran a credible campaign for Congress in the 49th District, narrowly losing the primary to the eventual winner — Brian Bilbray. Based on that performance, Steel was routinely sought by local Republicans as a candidate for the Assembly and state Senate, an honor he routinely declined. This year, however, he agreed and entered the primary against Myke Shelby, owner of the southland's largest Harley-Davidson dealership and a leader in efforts to repeal mandatory helmet laws for bikers. Shelby ran for this same nomination in 1998, finishing a distant second in the primary. It was thought that Shelby would have the upper hand, given his track record two years ago, his willingness and ability to self-fund and his access to a volunteer network of bikers. Some Republican activists, however, sought out Steel, regarding him as the only candidate with a chance to unseat two-term Democratic incumbent Howard Wayne. Still, Steel ran what can only be described as a low-key campaign. Unlike Shelby, he sent no mail, had no yard signs and no radio ads. His only nods toward the notion of an active campaign were a volunteer phone bank, precinct walking and appearances at local events. At each venue, he touted his military experience as an Air Force pilot some 45 years ago, his fiscal conservatism and twin platforms on education and health care. Shelby and Steel appeared together at several forums and once on Roger Hedgecock's popular San Diego radio program — an appearance that may have turned voters in Steel's direction. While Steel stuck to his issues of health care and education, Shelby focused on the problems small businessmen have with government bureaucracy — not exactly an issue that resonates with most voters. Shelby also seemed ill-prepared to discuss various ballot initiatives. Finally, Shelby may have been hurt by the name that appeared on the ballot: Mike "New York Myke" Shelby. Shelby clearly was disappointed with results of the primary, but so, too, are Democrats who considered Shelby much more beatable than Steel. Steel has been contacted by Assembly Republicans since the primary and has received assurances of support this fall. With Shelby, Republicans may have taken a pass. With Steel, this race likely will be targeted.

DISTRICT 79 (53% D - 25% R - 14% DS)

Vargas (D)	**24,219**	**74**	**59**
Crenshaw (D)	8,765	27	21
Parungao (R)	**4,640**	**58**	**11**
Secrest (R)	2,223	28	5
Barajas (R)	1,135	14	3
Cardulla (L)	**482**	**100**	**1**

There was some thought prior to this campaign that if all the stars lined up just right, Dwyane Crenshaw might be able to ambush San Diego City Councilman Juan Vargas in the Democratic primary to succeed termed-out Democrat Denise Ducheny. Well, it's tough to herd stars, and most of these didn't make it to their appointed spots in the political heavens. Crenshaw's chances were the very definition of longshot. A legislative aide, Crenshaw, who is black, had to rely on a strong turnout by African-American voters brought to the polls by the presence of a black candidate for mayor of San Diego. He also had to rely on lingering suspicions about Vargas by Democratic voters who remember charges from past campaigns that he often voted and acted more like a Republi-

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can than a Democrat. Crenshaw had some financial support from his former legislative boss – state Senator Jack O'Connell – and from the California Teachers' Association, but it wasn't nearly enough to offset Vargas' broad-based treasury, which included nice chunks of change from various Indian tribes involved with casino gambling, as well as from insurance companies, racetracks and Latino legislators such as Assemblyman Tony Cardenas. More important, Vargas was simply well known to local voters thanks to his long stint on the city council and his primary four years ago against local Democratic Congressman Bob Filner. End result: a first-class thumping for Crenshaw and a likely trip to Sacramento for Vargas.

DISTRICT 80 (43% D - 40% R - 12% DS)

Acuna (D)	**17,040**	**55**	**23**
Johansen (D)	14,282	46	19
Kelley (R)	**34,658**	**82**	**46**
Lewis (R)	7,663	18	10
Weber (L)	**1,979**	**100**	**2**

One half of Seat Swap II features current state Senator Dave Kelley seeking a return to the Assembly in this district. The other half involves the 37th Senate District, where Assemblyman Jim Battin won the GOP primary for the right to succeed Kelley. Both Republicans are termed out of their current political homes and seeking to extend their careers. Kelley, who served in the lower house from 1978 to 1992, still has two terms remaining in the Assembly. This is a tougher district than the one Kelley vacates, thanks to a slight Democratic edge in voter registration. Another GOP candidate might have drawn more interest from Democratic kingmakers or a stronger Democratic field, but Kelley has been winning elections in this region for more than two decades. Democratic nominee Joey Acuna Jr., a school-board trustee from Coachella, lost to Battin in 1998 by some 14,000 votes even though Democrats had greater registration advantage and an enormous push from a top-of-the-ticket race for governor. He ran competitively against Kelley this year in Imperial County, but two-thirds of district voters live in Kelley's home base of Riverside County, and the Democratic field didn't fare well there at all. Unless late summer polls indicate that Kelley could be vulnerable, this ought to be a quiet stretch of desert come November.

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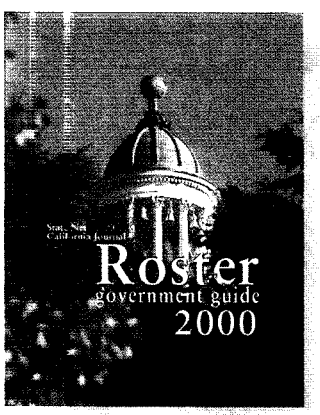

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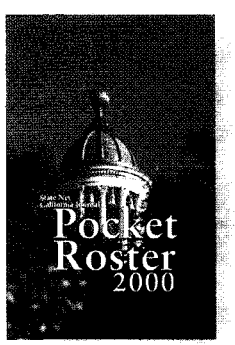

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Will Bush's Texas appeal translate?

by Dana Wilkie

Two of George W. Bush's soldiers were in Los Angeles a few days before California's primary, explaining to a tableful of reporters just how their candidate planned to pulverize Al Gore in this state come November.

Thankfully for them, it would be another 96 hours before voters demonstrated just how tough that was going to be, choosing the vice president in the March 7 primary by seven percentage points over the Texas governor.

When Karl Rove and Gerry Parsky sat down that day to talk about a possible Bush White House, polls already revealed this was how the California vote might go. What was the reaction from Bush's brain trust?

"Campaigns have an ebb and flow to them," said Rove, Bush's campaign manager. "Bush has a very powerful message that a lot of swing voters find attractive."

Rove and Parsky, chairman of Bush's California campaign, said Bush will win Californians using strategies that helped him take out Democratic Governor Ann Richards in Texas six years ago. He will reach out to Hispanics. He will woo conservative Democrats. He will focus on education — easily California's No. 1 issue.

Why should Californians elect Bush? "He's got a Western outlook and a Western spirit," Karl Rove said. "He's a West man."

But how, asked one reporter, will Bush, who grew increasingly conservative in order to secure the GOP nomination, win over the majority of Californians, who tend to think moderately about gun controls, abortion and the environment?

Rove shrugged.

"Variety," he said, "is the spice of life."

Which earned Rove this speedy retort from another scribe:

"Here," she said, "we call it salsa."

Let's put it another way:

"Governor, you're not in Texas anymore."

If Bush hopes to appeal to Californians the way he did Texans, he'd best get on the ball. He may have won 40 percent of the Hispanic vote in his 1998 governor's race, but California Hispanics gave him only 18 percent in the March primary, while showering Gore with 56 percent. He may appeal to conservative Democrats in Texas, but only one of every five California Democrats and independents gave him their vote in California.

Let's start with the Hispanics Bush believes he has in his pocket: Some will warm to Bush's message of better education for all children. Some are small-business owners who appreciate a Republican approach to lower taxes and fewer regulations. And some will remember that Bush opposed Proposition 187, the California ballot measure to end most public services to illegal immigrants.

But the California GOP hasn't had much success luring new Latino voters, 58 percent of whom are Democrats, while barely one in five votes Republican. Hispanic leaders have complained that Bush declined several invitations to gatherings of this country's leading Latino groups. He seemed to take their votes for granted. Latinos, who put a high priority on health care, may also find that Bush's health-care plan pales. And while it is widely assumed Hispanics tend to be Catholics who oppose abortions, recent polls show that 70 percent think a woman should decide what to do about a pregnancy.

How does Bush, who often takes a pass on gun-control debates because he says it's a federal issue, appeal to the 64 percent of Californians who say stronger gun controls are more important than the right to bear arms? Or the 67 percent who support existing or fewer restrictions on legalized abortion and who might have a problem with a candidate who would not change the GOP platform to allow abortion to save a woman's life? Or the environmentally minded Californians who might balk when they learn that on Bush's watch, Houston last year suffered the nation's worst smog, and that the city's refineries are 10-20 years behind Los Angeles-area refineries in controlling their pollution?

Despite the disparity between Bush's message and the views of Californians, Rove seemed to think the governor's appeal in this state had something to do with geographical brotherhood.

"He's got a Western outlook and a Western spirit," Rove said. "He's a West man."

The strategies that served Bush so well in his 1994 upset of Richards may have worked in Texas. But California Democrats and independents may have a rough time sifting past the ultra-right positions Bush took to win the nomination to get to the "compassionate conservative" who first announced his White House campaign.

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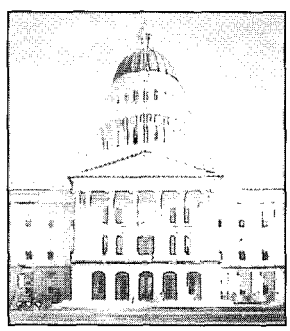
ONE IN A SERIES

On March 7, over 70% of voters said to keep making Big Tobacco pay.

Is Sacramento listening?

With Prop. 28, California voters had a chance to let up on tobacco. 72% of voters said no. Likely voters have also been polled to see if money from the Tobacco Settlement should be dedicated to battling tobacco. By the same margin, they said yes.



But our elected officials may not have heard.

Governor Gray Davis' proposed budget doesn't allow a dime of the approximate $400 million the State got from the Tobacco Settlement this year to supplement the state Prop. 99-funded tobacco control programs — programs that have cut consumption in half, reduced heart, lung, cancer and other diseases, and saved $8 for every $1 spent.

California's tobacco control efforts used to be a national model. But today, California is spending far less than the minimum recommended by the Centers for Disease Control for a state our size. Meanwhile, the tobacco companies are expected to spend $500 million this year alone to push their products in California. We've already learned what happens when California stops fighting back. More kids start smoking. Fewer adults quit. And medical costs climb.

The non-partisan Tobacco Education and Research Oversight Committee (TEROC) has proposed that the State should add 20% of its Tobacco Settlement share — $105 million — to next year's tobacco control budgets. We agree. Let's put the Tobacco Settlement to work the way voters want. Visibly. Effectively. Saving money. *Saving lives.*

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